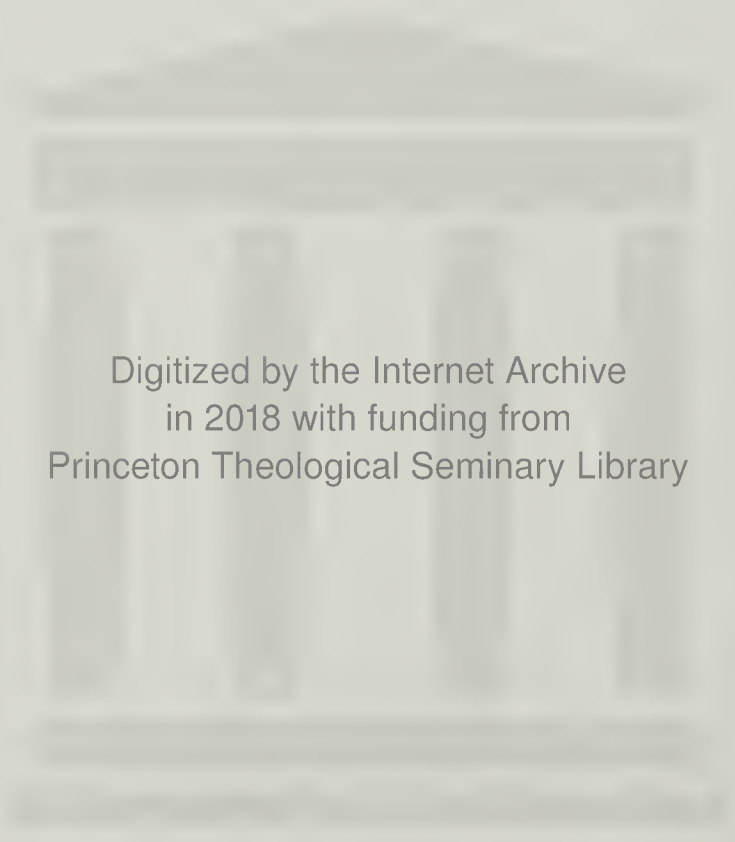




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BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST.

THE
GENUINE WORKS

of
Flavius Josephus

Illustrated with Notes

BY THE LATE

W^M WHISTON, M.A.

IN SIX VOLUMES,

VOL. 2.

New-York

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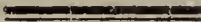
SIX BOOKS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.



VOL. II.



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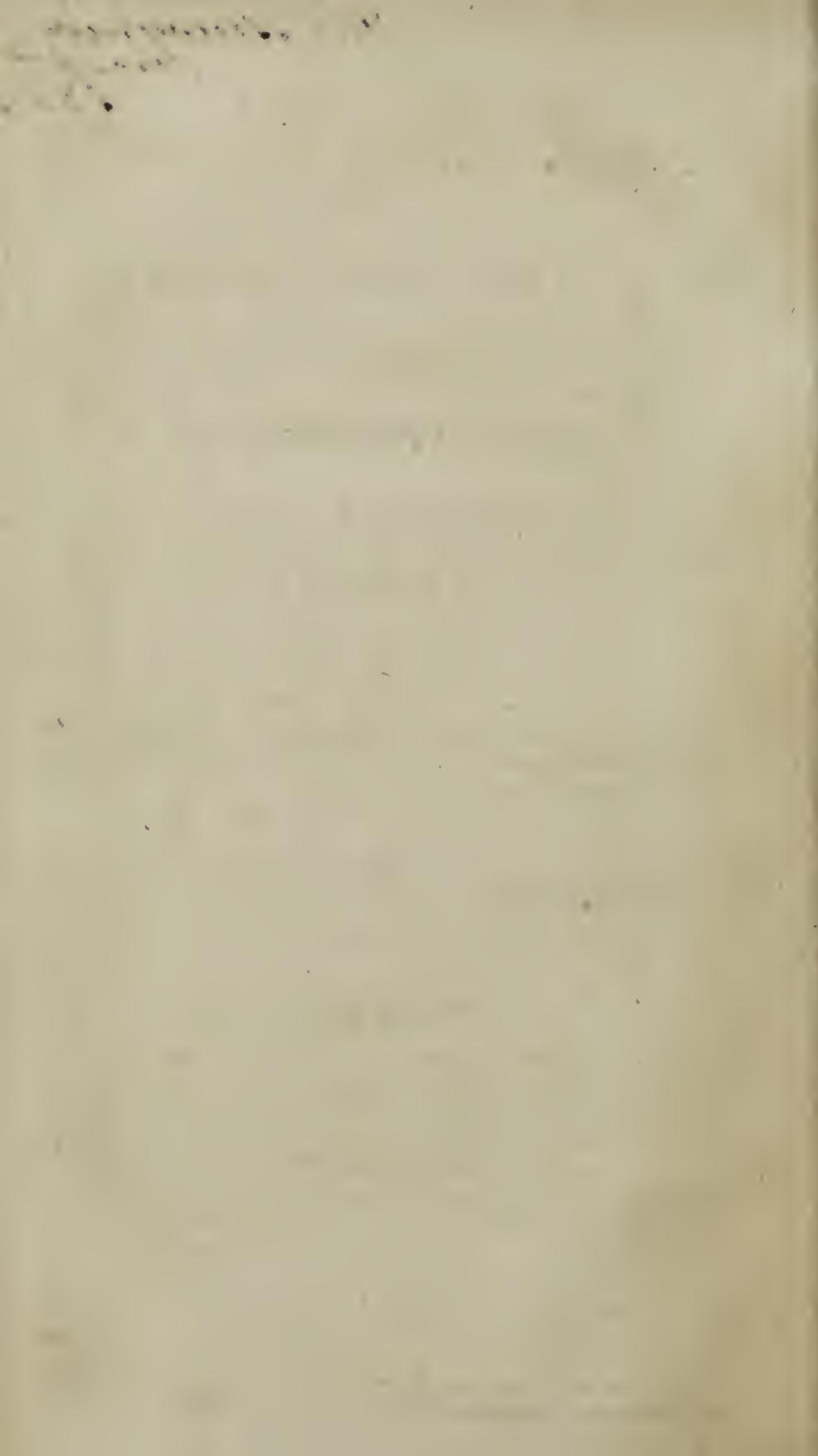
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ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

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BOOK VI. *STAMPED*

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 32 YEARS.

[From the death of Eli to the death of Saul.]

CHAP. I.

The destruction that came upon the Philistines, and upon their land, by the wrath of God, on account of their having carried the ark away captive; and after what manner they sent it back to the Hebrews.

§ 1. WHEN the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who was called *Dagon*,* as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple the next morning to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark, for he lay along, as having fallen down from the basis whereon he stood: so they took him up, and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to *Dagon*, and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery or flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in easy deaths, be well separated from the body, they brought up their entrails, and vomited up what they had eaten, and what was entirely corrupted by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the

* *Dagon*, a famous maritime god or idol, is generally supposed to have been like a *man* above the navel, and like a *fish* beneath it.

earth and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were under these misfortunes, and were not able to support themselves under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had gotten, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Askelon, and desired that they would receive the ark among them. This desire of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favour. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition, for the ark carried along with it the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon also sent it away from themselves to others; nor did it stay among those others neither, for since they were pursued by the same disasters, they still sent it to the neighbouring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these disasters as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

2. When those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them, and when those that heard them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get from it, so the governors of the five cities, Gath, and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza and Ashdod, met together and considered what was fit to be done; and at the first they thought proper to send the ark back to its own people, as allowing that God had avenged its cause; that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and that these were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. However, there were those that said, they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded, as ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such power and force upon them; for had God such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men: so they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which, at certain revolutions of time, produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over them already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who in their present circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly.

These men said, it was not right either to send the ark away, or to retain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against. They also would have them make five golden* mice like to those that had devoured and destroyed their country, to put them in a bag, and lay them upon the ark; to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch† kine to it, but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest by following after them they should prove a hindrance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive these milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and to leave it to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased, that in case they went the way to the Hebrews, and ascended to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes; but if they turned into another road, they said, "We will pursue after it, and conclude that it has no such force in it."

3. So they determined that these men spake well; and they immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly: and when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three ways met, and left it there, and went their ways; but the kine went the right way, and as if some persons had driven them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, as desirous to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village of the tribe of Judah, whose name was *Bethshemesh*, and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and a good plain before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were

* Spanheim informs us here, that upon the coins of Tenedos, and those of the cities, a field mouse is engraven, together with Apollo Simintheus, or Apollo the driver away of field mice, on account of his being supposed to have freed certain tracts of ground from those mice; which coins show how great a judgment such mice have sometimes been, and how the deliverance from them was then esteemed the effect of divine power; which observations are highly suitable to this history.

† This device of the Philistines, of having a yoke of kine to draw this cart into which they put the ark of the Hebrews, is greatly illustrated by Sanchoniatho's account, under his ninth generation, that Agrouerus, or Agrotus, the husbandman, had a much worshipped statue and a temple carried about by one or more yoke of oxen or kine, in Phœnicia, in the neighbourhood of these Philistines. See Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 27 and 247, and Essay on the Old Testament, Append. p. 172.

very glad ; for it being then summer time, and all the inhabitants being then in their fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labours of their hands for joy as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart, and taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain : and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered the cart and the kine as a burnt-offering : and when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back.

4. But now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck* seventy persons dead of the village of Bethshemesh, who not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, and approached to it. Those of the village wept for these that thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God, and every one mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they went to the public senate of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines ; which, when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh. In this city lived one *Abinadab*, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life, so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did inhabit a righteous man. His sons also ministered to the divine service at the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years, for so many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

CHAP. II.

The expedition of the Philistines against the Hebrews, and the Hebrews' victory under the conduct of Samuel the Prophet, who was their general.

§ 1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So

* These 70 men being not so much as Levites, touched the ark in a rash or profane manner, or were slain by the hand of God for such their rashness and profaneness, according to the divine threatenings, Numb. iv. 15, 20, but how our other copies came to add such an incredible number as 50,000 in this one town, or small city, I know not. See De Wall's critical notes on 1 Sam. vi. 19.

Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly, he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it : “ O you Israelites, said he, to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behooves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them : be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of your souls, and by your worship supplicate the divine majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honour you pay to him ; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity ; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies ; which blessing it is not possible you should attain, neither by weapons of war, nor by the strength of your bodies, nor by the multitude of your assistants ; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men ; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God’s promises.” When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called *Mizpeh*, which signifies in the Hebrew tongue a *watch tower* ; there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines ; so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army, and mighty forces, hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror : so they came running to Samuel, and said, that “ their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and that thence it was that we lay still, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths [to be obedient,] our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed ; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance God shall afford

us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bid them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them: and taking a sucking lamb he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly, God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now, while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemies' army marched out of their camp, and was put into order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews* were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited, though they had been foretold by any body; for, in the first place, God disturbed their enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, insomuch that by its trembling he made some unable to keep their feet, and made them fall down, and by opening its chasms, he caused that others should be hurried down into them: after which he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces; and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them fly, and return home naked. So Samuel, with the multitude, pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called: and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory, and their enemies' flight, and called it the *Stone of power*, as a signal of that *power* God had given them against their enemies.

§ 3. So the Philistines, after this stroke, made no more expeditions against the Israëlites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them: and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that after this victory was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts; and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly

* This is the first place, so far as I remember, in these Antiquities where Josephus begins to call his nation Jews, he having hitherto usually, if not constantly, called them either Hebrews or Israëlites. The second place soon follows, chap. iii. § 5.

conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Gath to the city Ekron: but the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

CHAP. III.

How Samuel, when he was so infirm with old age that he could not take care of the public affairs, entrusted them to his sons; and how, upon the evil administration of the government by them, the multitude were so angry, that they required to have a king to govern them, although Samuel was much displeased thereat.

§ 1. BUT Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and had appointed a city for every district of them, he commanded them to come to such cities, to have the controversies that they had one with another determined in them, he himself going over those cities twice in a year, and doing them justice; and by that means he kept them in very good order for a long time.

2. But afterwards he found himself oppressed with old age and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government, and the care of the multitude, to his sons; the elder of which was called *Joel*, and the name of the younger was *Abiah*. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city Bethel, and the other at Beersheba, and divided the people into districts, that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration, how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents, but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents, and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents; for these men, turning aside from their father's good courses, and taking a course that was contrary to them, perverted justice for the filthy lucre of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living, so that, as in the first place, they practised what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet, their father, who had taken a great deal of care, and made a very careful provision that the multitude should be righteous.

3. But the people, upon these injuries offered to their

former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and said, that "as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begged of him, and entreated him to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppressions." These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine and happy disposition; nor could he either think of eating or sleeping, out of his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake, and revolved these notions in his mind.

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, "That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he, but Himself, whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their King; that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt: that, however, in no long time they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance yet could not undo what was thus done for futurity: that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt, and the ungrateful conduct they have used towards me, and towards thy prophetic office. So I command thee to ordain them such an one as I shall name beforehand to be their king, when thou hast first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testified before them unto what a great change of affairs they are hastening."

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king: but he said, that he was first to describe to them what would follow; what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle: "for, know ye," said he, "that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you; and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds: they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their husbandmen also,

and the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards : nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also appoint your daughters to be confectioners, and cooks, and bakers ; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work, which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs, and the guards of their bodies, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants ; and, to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become no way superior to his slaves : and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings ; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved.”

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them ; and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made to be taken out of their mind, for they could not be turned from their purpose ; nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not to trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter, for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and that it was no way absurd, when their neighbours were under kingly government, that they should have the same form of government also. So when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said, “ Go you every one home for the present, when it is fit I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from Gad, who it is that he will give you for your king.”

CHAP. IV.

The appointment of a king over the Israelites, whose name was Saul ; and this by the command of God.

§ 1. THERE was one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of a good family, and of a virtuous disposition ; his name was *Kish*. He had a son, a young man, of a comely countenance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were

preferable to what were visible in him. They called him *Saul*. Now this Kish had some fine she-asses that were wandered out of the pasture wherein they fed, for he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had, so he sent out his son, and one servant with him, to search for the beasts, but when he had gone over his own tribe in search after the asses, he went to other tribes, and when he found them not there neither, he determined to go his way home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him told him, as they were near the city Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for that by him they would know the upshot of the affair of their asses, he replied, that if they should go to him they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their subsistence money was spent. The servant answered, that he had still the* fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that; for they were mistaken out of ignorance, as not knowing that the prophet received no such reward. So they went to him; and when they were before the gates, they light upon certain maidens that were going to fetch water, and they asked them, which was the prophet's house? They showed them which it was: and bid them make haste before he was set down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had then gathered many together to feast with him on this very account; for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand, whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send him a certain young man, out of the tribe of Benjamin, about this hour of the day: and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time's being come. And when the time was completed, he came down, and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him, that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel, and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house; for he said he was a stranger, and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he was himself the person, he led him in to supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that the greatest of good things were assured to him; he replied, "Sir, I am too inconsiderable to hope for

* Of this great mistake of Saul's and his servant's, as if a true prophet of God would accept of a gift or present, for foretelling what was desired of him, see the note on B. iv. ch. iv. § 3.

any such thing, and of a tribe too small to have kings made out of it, and of a family smaller than several other families : but thou tellest me this in jest, and makest me an object of laughter, when thou discoursedst with me of greater matters than what I stand in need of." However, the prophet led him unto the feast, and made him sit down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy* in number ; and he gave order to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. But when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home, but Saul staid with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

2. But as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him homeward ; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him, when nobody else was present. Accordingly, Saul sent away his servant that followed him ; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man and kissed him, and said, " Be thou a king, by the ordination of God, against the Philistines, and for avenging the Hebrews for what they have suffered by them ; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I would have thee take notice of : as soon as thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men upon the road going to worship God at Bethel, the first of which thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them carrying a bottle of wine. These men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves, which thou wilt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called *Rachel's Monument*, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found ; after this when thou comest to Gabath, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the divine spirit,† and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished and wonder, and say, whence

* It seems to me not improbable, that these 70 guests of Samuel, as here, with himself at the head of them, were a Jewish Sanhedrim, and that thereby Samuel intimated to Saul, that these 71 were to be his constant counsellors, and that he was to act not like a sole monarch, but with the advice and direction of these 71 members of that Jewish Sanhedrim upon all occasions, which we never read yet that he consulted afterward.

† An instance of this divine fury we have after this in Saul, chap. v. § 2, 3. 1 Sam. xi. 6. See the like, Judges iii. 10. vi. 34, xi. 29. xiii. 25. xiv. 6.

is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness? And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee: then do thou salute thy father, and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings." When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. Now all things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than the rest of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accident happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, no, not his coming to Samuel the prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought would procure him envy, and when such things are heard, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred; nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious at those that are in eminent stations.

4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mispheh, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God: that "when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they were become unmindful of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their king, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of Beings, for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king. while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away with the lust of power, but will not endeavour so to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, which, for that very reason, God would take care of. But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and sceptres, and cast lots."

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the

young man knew this, he prevented their [sending for him,] and immediately went away, and hid himself. I suppose it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part is not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be lord of so many and so great tribes, but crept away, and concealed himself out of the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring him, and when he was come, they set him in the midst of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic.

6. Then said the prophet, God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion. So as soon as the people had made acclamation, *God save the king*, the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and came himself to the city Ramah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he was born; and many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him, but the greater part were ill men, who despised him, and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

CHAP. V.

Saul's expedition against the nation of the Ammonites, and victory over them, and the spoils he took from them.

§ 1. AFTER one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people, for Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan, by the expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by

subduing them for the present, which he did by force and violence; but weakening them by subtilty and cunning, that they might not be able afterwards to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right eyes* of those that either delivered themselves up to him upon terms, or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this manner, he led his army against those that were called *Gileadites*; and having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city *Jabesh*, he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to deliver themselves up, on condition to have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege, and to have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small member of their body, or universally perish. However, the *Gileadites* were so affrighted at these offers, that they had not courage to say any thing to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up, nor that they would fight him: but they desired that he would give them seven days' respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance, and if they came to assist them, they would fight, but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them.

2. So *Nahash*, contemning the multitude of the *Gileadites*, and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whomsoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the *Israelites*, city by city, and informed them what *Nahash* had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people fell into tears and grief, at the hearing of what the ambassadors from *Jabesh* said, and the terror they were in, permitted them to do nothing more. But when the messengers were come to the city of king *Saul*, and declared the dangers in which the inhabitants of *Jabesh* were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of those related to them. And when *Saul* was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow-citizens weeping; and when, upon inquiry,

* Take here *Theodoret's* note cited by *Dr. Hudson*: "He that exposes his shield to the enemy with his left hand, thereby hides his left eye, and looks at the enemy with his right eye: he therefore that plucks out that eye, makes men useless in war."

he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised them to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rising, that the sun, upon its rising, might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from the fears they were under: but he bid some of them stay to conduct them the right way to Jabesh.

3. So being desirous to turn the people to this war against the Ammonites by fear of the losses they should otherwise undergo, and that they might be the more suddenly gathered together, he cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armour to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night thirty furlongs, and came to Jabesh before sun-setting. So he divided the army into three companies; and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing: and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites, as also their king Nabash. This glorious action was done by Saul; and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valour: for although there were some of them that contemned him before, they now changed their minds, and honoured him, and esteemed him as the best of men; for he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously: so the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul's and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamour against those that pretended he would be of no advantage to their affairs; and they said, where now are these men? let them be brought to punishment, with all the like things that multitudes do usually say, when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that lately despised the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good will and the affection of the men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of

his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same lineage with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be then of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil, in the sight of the multitude and declared him to be king the second time; and so the government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy, but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government, they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior, and most courageous, whence it was that they called this interval of their government the Judges.

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, what have I ever done that was cruel or unjust? or what have I done out of lucre, or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox, or a sheep, or any such thing, which, yet when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for mine own use of any one to his grief? Lay some one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out, that "no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner."

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now, and do you hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God in asking you a king.* It behooves you to remember, that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt by reason of a famine with seventy souls only of our family, and that their pos-

terity multiplied there to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron who were brethren, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess; and when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion; nay, moreover, when you were brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, he then made you to overcome the Ammonites and Moabites, and last of all the Philistines; and all these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness, therefore, possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king; yet have I ordained him for king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you, that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals, for what none of you ever saw here before, I mean a winter storm* in the midst of harvest, I will entreat of God, and will make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, God gave such great signals by thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as attested the truth of all that the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed that they had sinned, and had fallen into that sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him, and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them these their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous and to be good; and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also, to remember the strange signs God had showed them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judg-

* Mr. Reland observes here, and proves elsewhere in his note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. i. § 6, that although thunder and lightning with us happen usually in summer, yet in Palestine and Syria they are chiefly confined to winter. Josephus takes notice of the same thing again, of the War, B. iv. ch. iv. § 5. vol. v.

ments would come from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

CHAP. VI.

How the Philistines made another expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten.

§ 1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city Bethel, but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal, for the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest place of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any case whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition it was, that the husbandmen, if they had any occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were the coulter or the spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now, as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and looked on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they made war against the Jews with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horses; and they pitched their camp at the city Michmash. When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the country that they should try to regain their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great but they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves, and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reubel.

2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war, and the public affairs: so he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might

offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited,* as the prophet sent to him to do ; yet did not he, however, observe the command that was given him, but when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was deserted by the soldiers, he took the sacrifices, and offered them ; and when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. But the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent to him, and had not stayed till his coming, which being appointed according to the will of God, he had prevented him in offering up those prayers, and those sacrifices, that he should have made for the multitude, and that he therefore had performed divine offices in an ill manner, and he had been rash in performing them. Hereupon Saul made apology for himself, and said, that “ he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him ; that he had been so quick in offering his sacrifices, upon the account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemies’ camp at Michmash, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him to

* Saul seems to have staid till near the time of the evening sacrifice, on the seventh day, which Samuel, the prophet of God, had appointed him, but not till the end of that day, as he ought to have done : and Samuel appears, by delaying to come till the full time of the evening sacrifice on that seventh day, to have tried him, (who seems to have been already for some time declining from his strict and bounden subordination to God and his prophet, to have taken life-guards for himself and his son, which was an entire new thing in Israel, and favoured of a distrust of God’s providence, and to have affected more than he ought that independent authority which the Pagan kings took to themselves :) Samuel, I say, seems to have here tried Saul, whether he would stay till the priest came, who alone could lawfully offer the sacrifices, nor would boldly and profanely usurp the priest’s office, which he venturing upon was justly rejected for his profaneness. See *Constit. Apost. B. ii. ch. xxvii.* And, indeed, since Saul had accepted the kingly power, which naturally becomes ungovernable and tyrannical, as God foretold, and the experience of all ages has shown, the divine settlement by Moses had soon been laid aside under the kings, had not God, by keeping strictly to his laws, and severely executing the threatenings therein contained, restrained Saul and other kings in some degree of obedience to himself: nor was even this severity sufficient to restrain most of the future kings of Israel and Judah from the grossest idolatry and impiety. Of the advantage which strictness, in the observing divine laws, and inflicting their threatened penalties, see *Antiq. B. vi. ch. xii. § 7,* and *contra Apion, B. ii. § 30,* where Josephus speaks of that matter ; though it must be noted, that it seems, at least in three instances, that good men did not always immediately approve of such divine severity. There seems to be one instance, *1 Sam. vi. 19, 20,* another, *1 Sam. xv. 11,* and a third, *2 Sam. vi. 8, 9,* *Antiq. B. vi. ch. 7, § 2,* though they all at last acquiesced in the divine conduct, as knowing that God is wiser than men.

Gilgal." To which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly, if thou hadst been a righteous man,* and hadst not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me concerning the present state of affairs, and hadst not acted more hastily than the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and thy posterity after thee." So Samuel, being grieved at what happened, returned home; but Saul came to the city Gibeah with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him: and of these the greater part had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons, for, as we showed a little before, the Philistines had not suffered them to have such iron, or such workmen. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, having only six hundred men with them. But as he, and his sons, and Abiah the high-priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high-priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemies' camp, and make a tumult, and a disturbance among them. And when the armour-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemies' camp was upon a precipice, which had three tops, that ended in a small, but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them like lines made to

* By this answer of Samuel, and that from a divine commission, which is fuller in 1 Sam. xiii. 14, and by that parallel note in the Apostolical Constitutions just now quoted, concerning the great wickedness of Saul in venturing, even under a seeming necessity of affairs, to usurp the priest's office, and offer sacrifice without the priest, we are in some degree able to answer that question, which I have ever thought a very hard one, viz. whether, if there were a city or country of lay christians without any clergymen, it were lawful for the laity alone to baptize, or celebrate the eucharist, &c. or indeed whether they alone could ordain themselves either bishops, priests, or deacons, for the due performance of such sacerdotal ministration? or whether they ought not rather, till they procure clergymen to come among them, to confine themselves within those bounds of piety and christianity which belong alone to the laity? such particularly as are recommended in the first book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which peculiarly concern the laity, and are imitated in Clement's undoubted Epistle, § 40. To which latter opinion I incline.

prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that there arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossible, not only to ascend up to the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack our enemies; and if when they see us they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the enemies' camp just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "the Hebrews come out of their dens and caves;" and they said to Jonathan and his armour-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies, so he changed his place and came to the rock which had none to guard it, because of its own strength; from thence they crept up with great labour and difficulty, and so far overcame by force the nature of the place till they were able to fight with their enemies. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armour and fled, but the greatest part not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies, (for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up,) and so they fought against one another; and some of them died in the battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.

3. Now Saul's watchmen told the king, that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone away from the army? and when he heard that his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bid the high-priest take the garments of his high-priesthood and prophesy to him what success they should have; who said, "that they should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies." So he went out after the Philistines and set upon them as they were slaying one another. Those also came running to him, who had fled to dens and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory. When, therefore, the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scat-

tered all over the country, but then he fell into an action, which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for, whether out of ignorance, or whether out of joy for a victory gained so strangely, for it frequently happens, that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently, as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to exact a due punishment of the Philistines, he denounced* a curse on the Hebrews, that "if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating, and left off the slaughter, or the pursuit before the night came on, and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed." Now after Saul had denounced this curse, since they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father denounce that curse, nor hear of the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honey-comb, and eat part of it. But in the mean time, he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing before sun-setting: so he left off eating; and said, "his father had not done well in this prohibition, because had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies."

4. When, therefore, they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of prey, and cattle, and killed them, and eat them with their blood. This was told to the king by the Scribes, that the multitude were sinning against God, as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh was made clean. Then did Saul give order, that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and he made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul† erected an altar there, and

* This rash vow or curse of Saul's which Josephus says was confirmed by the people, and yet not executed, I suppose principally because Jonathan did not know of it, is very remarkable, it being of the essence of the obligation of all laws, that they be sufficiently known and promulgated, otherwise the conduct of providence, as to the sacredness of solemn oaths and vows, in God's refusing to answer by *Urim*, till this breach of Saul's vow or curse was understood and set right, and God propitiated by public prayer, is here very remarkable, as indeed it is every where else in the Old Testament.

† Here we have still more indications, of Saul's affection of despotic power, and of his entrenching upon the priesthood, and making and endeavouring to execute a rash vow or curse without consulting Samuel:

offered burnt-offering upon it to God. This was the first altar that Saul built.

5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemies' camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high-priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant them the favour and permission to go against the enemies' camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. And when the priest said, that God did not give any answer, "And not without some cause, said Saul, does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired beforehand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure there is some sin against him that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." So when the multitude cried out to him so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of? and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profaneness? his answer was this, "O father, I have done nothing more, than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath thou hadst denounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy I tasted of an honey-comb." But Saul swore that he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but offering himself to it generously and undauntedly, he said, "Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me: death will be to me very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy piety, and after a glorious victory, for it is the greatest consolation to me, that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines." Hereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted

or the sanhedrim. In this view it is also that I look upon this erection of a new altar by Saul, and his offering of burnt-offerings himself upon it, and not as any proper instances of devotion or religion, with other commentators.

for Jonathan, and they swore that they would not overlook Jonathan and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his father's curse while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

6. So Saul, having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily: and he also fought against the neighbouring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three male children, Jonathan, and Ishui, and Melchishua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner, his uncle's son, for the captain of his host: that uncle's name was *Ner*. Now *Ner*, and *Kish* the father of Saul, were brothers. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen, and against whomsoever he made war, he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations: and he made such of the young men that were remarkable for tallness and comeliness the guards of his body.

CHAP. VII.

Saul's war with the Amalekites; and conquest of them.

§ 1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, that "he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him before all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he had the dominion over the other tribes, yet that God had the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly, God said to him, that because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief while they were in the wilderness, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them; and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. To spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obe-

dience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of *Amalek** entirely.”

2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded ; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown not only in making war against the Amalekites, but more fully in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces ; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah, for that tribe contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the river, that so he might not only do them mischief by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy, he beat them, and pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded, according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the Amalekites ; he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike machines, partly by mines dug underground, and partly by building walls on the outsides. Some they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods ; and after all, he betook himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not act therein either barbarously or inhumanly, first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated, and in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemies' king, captive ; the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy of preservation : yet was not this done, however, according to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unseasonable commiseration, in a point where it was not safe for him to indulge it, for God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity on even those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionate ; but Saul preserved their king and governor from

* The reason of this severity is distinctly given, 1 Sam. xv. 18, *Go and utterly destroy the sinners, the Amalekites* : nor indeed do we ever meet with these Amalekites but as a very cruel and bloody people, and particularly seeking to injure and utterly to destroy the nation of Israel, Exod. xvii. 8—16. Numb. xiv. 45. Deut. xxv. 17—19. Judges vi. 3—6. 1 Sam. xv. 33. Psalm lxxxiii. 7, and above all, the most barbarous of all cruelties, that of Haman the Agagite, or one of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, Esther iii. 1—15.

the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul, for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches, but if there were any thing that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

3. But when Saul had conquered all these Amalekites that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemies' country: but for the nation of the Sechemites, he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the country of Midian; for before the battle, Saul had sent to them, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the miseries of the Amalekites, for he had a just occasion for saving them, since they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses's father-in-law.

4. Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected any thing which the prophet had enjoined him to do, when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because these things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing, that they should conquer and overcome their enemies, by that power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man that was a king would not bear it. He, therefore, told Samuel the prophet, that he repented that he had made Saul king, while he did nothing that he had commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion; and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him; but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, as not deeming it a fit thing to grant forgiveness of [such] sins at his entreaties, since injuries do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; for while they hunt after the glory of being thought gentle and good natured, before they are aware, they produce other sins. As soon, therefore, as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day,

Samuel came to Saul to Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God who hath given me the victory, for I have performed every thing that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of the sheep, and the lowing of the greater cattle in the camp?" Saul made answer, that "the people had reserved them for sacrifices, but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had received it in command to see done, and that no one man was left, but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom he said they would advise together what should be done with him." But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that any thing is well done by them, but when they do it as God had commanded them: that he then looks upon himself as affronted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be disobedient to him. But that from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty which is the alone true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer never so many and so fat, and be the presents they make him never so ornamental, nay, though they were made of gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instances of wickedness, and not of piety. And that he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do that whatsoever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them to do, and to choose rather to die than to transgress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean oblation, he better accepts of it, as the honour of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose he will respect a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction, unless perhaps thou dost imagine that it is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it? Do thou, therefore, expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such insolent behaviour, as to neglect that God who bestowed it upon thee." Then did Saul confess, that he had acted unjustly, and did not deny that he had sinned, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said that it was out of a dread and fear of the soldiers, that he did not

prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the prey. But forgive me, said he, and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come. He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

5. But when Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him, and that a good and a just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; that to be mutable and changeable in what is determined, is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the divine power. Hereupon Saul said that he had been wicked, but that what was done could not be undone: he, therefore, desired him to honour him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favour, and went with him, and worshipped God. Agag, also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when the king asked how bitter death was? Samuel said, As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail their children, so shalt thou by thy death cause thy mother to lament thee also. Accordingly, he gave order to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away to the city Ramah.

CHAP. VIII.

How upon Saul's transgressions of the prophet's commands, Samuel ordained another person to be king privately, whose name was David, as God commanded him.

§ 1. Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to his royal palace at Gibeah, which name denotes an *hill*, and after that day he came no more into the presence of the prophet. And when Samuel mourned for him, God bid him leave off his concern for him, and to take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem to Jesse, the son of Obed, and to anoint such of his sons as he should show him for their future king. But Samuel said he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it, should kill him, either by some private method, or even openly. But upon God's suggesting to him a safe way of going thither, he came to the forementioned city; and when they all saluted him, and ask-

ed, What was the occasion of his coming? he told them, he came to sacrifice to God. When, therefore, he had gotten the sacrifice ready, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of those sacrifices; and when he saw his eldest son to be a tall and handsome man, he guessed by his comeliness that he was the person who was to be their future king. But he was mistaken in judging about God's providence; for when Samuel inquired of God, whether he should anoint this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom, God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. Thou indeed hast respect to the fine appearance of this youth, and thence esteemest him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I inquire after one that is perfectly comely in that respect, I mean one who is beautiful in piety, and righteousness, and fortitude, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bid Jesse to show him all his sons. So he made five others of his sons come to him; of all which Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammah the third, Nathaniel the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their countenances, he inquired of God, which of them it was whom he chose for the king? and when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse, whether he had not some other sons besides these? and when he said that he had one more, named *David*, but that he was a shepherd, and took care of the flocks, Samuel bid them call him immediately, for that till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make our king. So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth under him, and Jesse also with his other sons; after which, he took oil, in the presence of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him that God chose him to be their king; and exhorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would continue for a long time, and that his house should be of great splendour, and celebrated in the world: that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nation soever he should make war, he should be the conqueror, and survive the fight; and that while he lived, he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

2. So Samuel, when he had given him these admonitions, went away : but the divine power departed from Saul, and removed to David ; who, upon this removal of the divine spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him ; for which the physicians could find no other remedy but this, that if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised thm to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these demons came upon him, and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him and play* on the harp, and recite hymns to him. Accordingly, Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a man. And when a certain stander-by said, that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet no more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was deserving of great regard, who was skilful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, and an excellent soldier in war, he sent to Jesse, and desired him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he had a mind to see him, as having heard an advantageous character of his comeliness and his valour. So Jesse sent his son, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer, and had him in very great esteem, for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demon whensoever it was that it came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again. However, he sent to Jesse, the father of the child, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for that he was delighted with his sight and company ; which stay, that he might not contradict Saul, he granted.

CHAP. IX.

How the Philistines made another expedition against the Hebrews under the reign of Saul ; and how they were overcome by David's slaying Goliath in a single combat.

§ 1. Now the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time afterward, and having gotten together a

* Spanheim takes notice here, that the Greeks had such *singers of hymns*, and that usually children or youths were picked out for that service ; as also that those called *singers to the harp*, did the same that David did here, i. e. join their own vocal and instrumental music together.

great army, they made war against the Israelites, and having seized a place between Shochoh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them; and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp themselves upon such another hill, over against that on which Saul's army lay, so that a valley, which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camp asunder. Now there came down a man out of the camp of the Philistines, whose name was *Goliath*, of the city Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was of four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for he had a breast-plate on that weighed five thousand shekels: he had also a helmet, and greaves of brass as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels; and many followed him to carry his armour. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle-array, and sent out a loud voice, and said to Saul, and to the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? give me a man of you that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall have the reward of the conqueror, and determine the war, for these shall serve those others to whom the conquered shall belong: and certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he had said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again, and used the same words, and did not leave off for forty days together to challenge the enemy in the same words; still Saul and his army were therewith terrified, while they put themselves in array as if they would fight, but did not come to a close battle.

2. Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers of the war: and at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but after no long time he came to the camp of the Hebrews, as sent by his father to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing. While Goliath came again, and challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man of valour among them that durst come down to fight him; and as David was talking

with his brethren, about the business of which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary. Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reprov'd him, and said, that he spake too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother's words, and went away, but still spake to some of the soldiers, that he was willing to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king sent for him to come to him: and when the king asked what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down or afraid, for I will depress the insolence of the adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and will bring him under me, as tall and as great as he is, till he shall be sufficiently laughed at, and thy army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man's estate, neither fit for fighting, nor capable of being intrusted with the marshalling an army, or ordering a battle, but one that looks like a child, and is really no older in age than a child."

3. Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity of David, but durst not presume on his ability, by reason of his age; but said, he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilful in the art of war. "I undertake this enterprise, said David, in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks, and took away a lamb from them, and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast's mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army and blasphemed our God, who yet will reduce him under my power."

4. However, Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, not disagreeable to the alacrity and boldness of the child; and said, "Go thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breast-plate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armour, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armour be thine, O king, who art able to bear it, but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly, he laid by the armour, and taking his staff with

him, and putting five stones out of the brook into a shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the adversary, seeing him in such a manner, disdained him, and jested upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "dost thou take me not for a man but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog; but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a breast-plate, but I have God for my armour in coming against thee, who will destroy thee, and all thy army by my hands, for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and our strength is in his providence, and that without God's assistance all other warlike preparations and power is useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armour, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as despising him, and depending upon it that he should slay him, who was both unarmed, and a child also, without any trouble at all.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put it into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slang it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead, and sank into his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword; for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath the Philistines were beaten and fled: for when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and thereby endeavoured to save themselves from the danger they were in. But Saul, and the entire army of the Hebrews made a shout and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Gath, and to the gates of Ekron; so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burnt it;

but David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God [at the tabernacle.]

CHAP. X.

Saul envies David for his glorious success, and takes an occasion of entrapping him, from the promise he made him of giving him his daughter in marriage, but this upon condition of his bringing him six hundred heads of the Philistines.

§ 1. Now the women were an occasion of Saul's envy and hatred to David, for they came to meet their victorious army with cymbals, and drums, and all demonstrations of joy, and sang thus: the wives said, that "Saul hath slain his many thousands of the Philistines." The virgins replied, that "David hath slain his ten thousands." Now when the king heard them singing thus, and that he had himself the smallest share in their commendations, and that the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself, that there was nothing more wanting to David, after such a mighty applause, but the kingdom, he began to be afraid and suspicious of David. Accordingly he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armour-bearer, which out of fear seemed to him much too near a station for him, and so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but, as he thought, more for his own security; for he had a mind to send him against the enemy, and into battles, as hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

2. But David had God going along with him whithersoever he went, and accordingly he greatly prospered in his undertakings, and it was visible that he had mighty successes, insomuch that Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him; and her affection so far prevailed over her that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard this gladly, as intending to make use of it for a snare against David, and he hoped that it would prove the cause of destruction and of hazards to him; so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I engage myself to marry my daughter to him if he will bring me six* hundred heads of my ene-

* Josephus says thrice in this chapter, and twice afterward, chap. xi. § 2, and B. vii. ch. i. § 4. i. e. five times in all, that Saul required not a bare hundred of the furskins of the Philistines, but six hundred of their

mies, supposing that when a reward so ample was proposed to him, and when he should aim to get him great glory, by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines, and my designs about him will succeed finely to my mind, for I shall be freed from him and get him slain, not by myself, but by another man." So he gave order to his servants to try how David would relish this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly, they began to speak thus to him, that king Saul loved him, as well as did all the people, and that he was desirous of his affinity by the marriage of this damsel. To which he gave this answer, "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially when I am one of a family that is low, and without any glory or honour." Now when Saul was informed by his servants what answer David had made, he said, "tell him that I do not want any money, nor dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage, but I desire only such a son-in-law as hath in him fortitude, and all other kinds of virtue, of which he saw David was possessed, and that his desire was to receive of him, on account of his marrying his daughter, neither gold nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's houses, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and indeed six hundred of their heads, than which a more desirable, or a more glorious present, could not be brought him, and that he had much rather obtain this than any of the accustomed dowries for his daughter, viz. that she should be married to a man of that character, and to one who had a testimony as having conquered his enemies."

3. When these words of Saul was brought to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him; so that without bearing to deliberate any longer, or casting about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible, or was difficult or not, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage. Accordingly, because it was God that made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many [of the Philistines,] and cut off the heads of six hundred of them, and came to the king, and by showing him these heads of the Phi-

heads. The Septuagint have 100 foreskins, but the Syriac and Arabic 200. Now that these were not *foreskins* with our other copies, but *heads* with Josephus's copy, seems somewhat probable from 1 Sam. xxix. 4. where all his copies say, that it was cut off the heads of six hundred Philistines that David might reconcile himself to his father-in-law.

listines, required that he might have his daughter in marriage. Accordingly, Saul having no way of getting off his engagements, as thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar when he promised him this marriage, or to appear to have acted treacherously by him, in putting him upon what was in a manner impossible, in order to have him slain, he gave him his daughter in marriage ; her name was *Michal*.

CHAP. XI.

How David, upon Saul's laying snares for him, did yet escape the dangers he was in by the affection and care of Jonathan, and the contrivances of his wife Michal ; and how he came to Samuel the prophet.

§ 1. HOWEVER, Saul was not disposed to persevere long in the state wherein he was, for when he saw that David was in great esteem, both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid ; and being not able to conceal his fear as concerning great things, his kingdom and his life, to be deprived of either of which was a very great calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan, and his most faithful servants, to kill him ; but Jonathan wondered at his father's change with relation to David, and that it should be made to so great a degree, from showing him no small good will, to contrive how to have him killed. Now because he loved the young man, and revered him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret charge his father had given, and what his intentions were concerning him. However, he advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father, and if he met with a favourable opportunity, he would discourse with him about him, and learn the cause of his disgust, and show how little ground there was for it, and that for it he ought not to kill a man that had done so many good things to the multitude, and had been a benefactor to himself, on account of which, he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been guilty of the greatest crimes ; and I will then inform thee of my father's resolution. Accordingly, David complied with such an advantageous advice, and kept himself then out of the king's sight.

2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul as soon as he saw him in a cheerful and joyful disposition, and began to introduce a discourse about David : " What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptionable in David, as to induce thee to order us to slay a man who hath been of great advantage to thy own preservation, and of

still greater to the punishment of the Philistines? A man who hath delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, when he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had, as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; insomuch, that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation, for thy daughter must be injured at the same time that he is slain, and must be obliged to experience widowhood, before she can come to enjoy any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and to do no mischief to a man, who, in the first place, hath done us the great kindness of preserving thee; for when an evil spirit and deemons had seized upon thee, he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul from their incursions: and, in the second place, hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words; and swore to his son, that he would do David no harm, for a righteous discourse proved too hard for the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good news from his father, that he was to be preserved. He also brought him to his father; and David continued with the king as formerly.

3. About this time it was, that upon the Philistines making a new expedition against the Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight with them; and joining battle with them, he slew many of them, and after his victory, he returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not as he expected upon such success, for he was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought he would be more dangerous to him by having acted so gloriously: but when the demoniacal spirit came upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into his bed-chamber wherein he lay, and having a spear in his hand, he ordered him to charm him with playing on his harp, and with singing hymns; which, when David did at his command, he with great force threw the spear at him, but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest he should get quite away, that he might come into the judgment-hall, and so might be delivered up, and condemned, and slain. But when Michal, David's wife, the king's daughter, understood

what her father designed, she came to her husband, as having little hopes of his deliverance, and as greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find thee here when it rises, for if it do, that will be the last time it will see thee; fly away then while the night may afford thee the opportunity, and may God lengthen it for thy sake, for know this, that if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she let him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him: and after she had so done, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed-clothes a goat's liver;* and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, that he had not been well that night, and showed them the bed covered, and made them believe, by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent, told Saul, that David had not been well in the night, he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king: and when her father complained of her, that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she invented this plausible defence for herself, and said, "That when he threatened to kill her, she lent him her assistance for his preservation out of fear; for which her assistance she ought to be forgiven, because it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity; for, said she, I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill the enemy, as thou wast that I should be saved." Accordingly, Saul forgave the damsel; but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel at Ramah, and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all, by God's assistance; which thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

5. When the prophet was made acquainted with the unjust proceedings of the king, he left the city Ramah, and took

* Since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the Hebrew word here used, *Cebir*; and since the LXXII, as well as Josephus, render it the *liver* of the goat, and since this rendering, and Josephus's account, are here so much more clear and probable than those others, it is almost unaccountable that our commentators should so much as hesitate about its true interpretation.

David with him, to a certain place called *Naioth*, and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul, that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to take him, and bring him to him; and when they came to Samuel, and found there a congregation of prophets, they became partakers of the divine spirit, and began to prophesy; which when Saul heard of, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others; which third sort prophesying also, at last he was angry, and went thither in great haste himself; and when he was just by the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophecy also. And when Saul came to him, he was disordered* in mind, and under the vehement agitation of a spirit, and putting off his garments,† he fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

6. And David went thence, and came to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and lamented to him what snares were laid for him by his father; and said, that “though he had been guilty of no evil, nor had offended against him, yet he was very zealous to get him killed.” Hereupon Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to such his own suspicions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to depend on him, and take courage; for that his father had no such intentions, since he would have acquainted him with the matter, and taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common, when he acted

* These violent and wild agitations of Saul seem to me to have been no other than demoniacal; and that the same demon which used to seize him, since he was forsaken of God, and which the divine hymns and psalms which were sung to the harp by David, used to expel, was now in a judicial way brought upon him, not only in order to disappoint his intentions against innocent David, but to expose him to the laughter and contempt of all that saw him, or heard of those his agitations, such violent and wild agitations being never observed in true prophets, when they were under the inspiration of the Spirit of God. Our other copies, which say *the spirit of God* came upon him, seems not so right here, as Josephus's copy, which mentions nothing of God at all. Nor does Josephus seem to ascribe this impulse and ecstasy of Saul's to any other than to his old demoniacal spirit, which on all accounts appears the most probable. Nor does the former description of Saul's real inspiration by the divine spirit, 1 Sam. x. 9—12. Antiq. B. vi. ch. iv. § 2, which was before he was become wicked, well agree with the descriptions before us.

† What is meant by Saul's *lying down naked all that day, and all that night*, 1 Sam. xix. 24, and whether any more than laying aside his royal apparel, or upper garments, as Josephus seems to understand it, is by no means certain. See the note on Antiq. B. viii. ch. 14, § 2.

in other affairs. But David sware to him, that so it was, and desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he, with great sincerity, told him : that he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others : and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore towards him.

7. Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul's was so well attested, he asked him, " what he would have him do for him ?" To which David replied, " I am sensible that thou art willing to gratify me in every thing, and procure me what I desire : now to-morrow is the new moon, and I was accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper ; now if it seem good to thee, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately there ; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep a festival with my own tribe ; and add this also, that thou gavest me leave so to do. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of friends that are gone abroad, it is well that he went, then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared at his hands ; but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that he hath some designs against me. Accordingly, thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations : and that out of pity to my case, and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the assurances of my love to thee, and to give the like assurances to me, that is, those of a master to his servant ; but if thou discoverest any wickedness in me, do thou prevent thy father and kill me thyself."

8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what he desired of him, and to inform him if his father's answers implied any thing of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him ; and that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and sware that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David ; and he said, " I appeal to that God, who, as thou seest, is diffused every where, and knoweth this intention of mine, before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to make frequent trials of the purpose of my father, till I learn whether there be any lurking distemper in the secretest parts of his soul ; and when I have learnt it, I will not conceal it from thee, but will discover it to thee, whether he be gently or peevishly disposed : for this God himself knows, that I pray he may always be with thee, for he

is with thee now, and will not forsake thee, and will make thee superior to thine enemies, whether my father be one of them, or whether I myself be such. Do thou only remember what we now do ; and if it fall out that I die, preserve my children alive, and requite what kindnesses thou hast now received to them." When he had thus sworn, he dismissed David, bidding him go to a certain place in that plain, wherein he used to perform his exercises, for that as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come thither to him with one servant only ; and " if, says he, I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant to carry these three darts away, for they are before him, know thou that there is no mischief to be feared from my father ; but if thou hearest me say the contrary expect the contrary from the king : however thou shalt gain security by my means, and shalt by no means suffer any harm ; but see thou dost not forget what I have desired of thee, in the time of thy prosperity, and be serviceable to my children." Now David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

9. But on the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself, as the custom was, came to supper, and when there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, he saw David's seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had accompanied with his wife, and so could not be present ; but when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month neither, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse did not come to the supper and the feast, neither the day before, nor that day. So Jonathan said, that " he was gone, according to the agreement between them, to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission : and that he also invited him to come to their sacrifice ; and, says Jonathan, if thou wilt give me leave, I will go thither, for thou knowest the good will that I bear him." And then it was that Jonathan understood his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition ; for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and called him the son of a runagate, and an enemy ; and said, " He was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behaviour he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, and he would not be persuaded of this, that while David is alive, their kingdom was not secure to them ; yet did he bid him send for him, that he might be punished." And when Jonathan said, in answer, What hath he done that

thou wilt punish him? Saul no longer contented himself to express his anger in bare words, but snatched up his spear, and leaped upon him, and was desirous to kill him. He did not indeed do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends, but it appeared plainly to his son, that he hated David, and greatly desired to dispatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

10. And then it was that the king's son rose hastily from supper; and being not able to admit any thing into his mouth for grief, he wept all night, both because he had himself been near destruction, and because the death of David was determined: but as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as going to perform his exercises, but in reality to inform his friend what disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed with him to do. And when Jonathan had done what had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him, to return to the city, but he himself went into the desert, and came into his presence, and communed with him. So David appeared, and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his soul: but he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented their age, and that familiarity which envy would deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better than death itself. So recollecting themselves at length from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted asunder.

CHAP. XII.

How David fled to Ahimelech, and afterwards to the kings of the Philistines, and of the Moabites; and how Saul slew Ahimelech and his family.

§ 1. BUT David fled from the king, and that death he was in danger of by him, and came to the city Nob, to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming all alone, and neither a friend, nor a servant with him, he wondered at it, and desired to learn of him the cause why there was nobody with him? To which David answered, "that the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, to which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had no occasion for any one to accompany him; however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at such and such a place." Sp

he desired him to let him have somewhat to eat ; and that in case he would supply him, he would act the part of a friend, and be assisting to the business he was now about : and when he had obtained what he desired, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear ? Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul's, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the king's mules. The high-priest said, that he had no such weapons, but he added, " Here is the sword of Goliath, which when thou hadst slain the Philistine, thou didst dedicate to God."

2. When David had received the sword, he fled out of the country of the Hebrews into that of the Philistines, over which Achish reigned : and when the king's servants knew him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many *ten thousands* of the Philistines, David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from him which he had escaped from Saul ; so he pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth, and he did other the like actions before the king of Gath, which might make him believe, that they proceeded from such a distemper. Accordingly, the king was very angry at his servants that they had brought him a madman ; and he gave order that they should eject David immediately [out of the city.]

3. So when David had escaped in this manner out of Gath, he came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam. Then it was that he sent to his brethren, and informed them where he was, who then came to him with all their kindred, and as many others as were either in want, or in fear of king Saul, came and made a body together, and told him they were ready to obey his orders ; they were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him, as he removed thence, and came to the king of the Moabites, and desired him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs were in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him this favour, and paid great respect to David's parents all the time they were with him.

4. As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and to go into the portion of the tribe of Judah, and abide there, he complied therewith, and coming to the city Hereth, which was in that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble : but as he knew that David was a bold and courage-

ous man, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and that openly also, which would make him weep, and put him into distress ; so he called together to him his friends, and his commanders, and the tribe from which he was himself derived, to the hill where his palace was ; and sitting upon a place called *Aroura*, his courtiers that were in dignities, and the guards of his body, being with him, he spake thus to them : “ You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you ; and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you commanders, and bestowed posts of honour upon you, and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers ; I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse ; for I know that you are all inclinable to him ; even my own son Jonathan himself is of that opinion, and persuades you to be of the same ; for I am not unacquainted with the oaths and the covenants that are between him and David, and that Jonathan is a counsellor, and an assistant to those that conspire against me, and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence, and watch to see what will be the upshot of these things.” When the king had done his speech, not one of the rest of those that were present made any answer ; but Doeg, the Syrian, who fed his mules, said, that he saw David when he came to the city Nob, to Ahimelech the high-priest, and that he learned future events by his prophesying : that he received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and was conducted by him with security to such as he desired to go to.

5. Saul, therefore, sent for the high-priest, and for all his kindred, and said to them, “ What terrible or ungrateful thing hast thou suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was contriving to get the kingdom ? And farther, why didst thou deliver oracles to him concerning futurities ; for thou couldst not be unacquainted that he was fled away from me, and that he hated my family.” But the high-priest did not betake himself to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David, but Saul himself : and he said, “ I did not know that he was thy adversary, but a servant of thine, who was very faithful to thee, and a captain over a thousand of thy soldiers ; and, what is more than these, thy son-in-law, and kinsman. Men do not use to confer such favours on their adversaries, but on those who are esteemed to bear the highest good will and respect to them. Nor is

this the first time that I prophesied for him, but I have done it often, and at other times as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by thee in great haste to do somewhat, if I had furnished him with nothing that he desired, I should have thought that it was rather in contradiction to thee than to him; wherefore do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou have a suspicion of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told thee of David's attempts against thee, for I did then to him as to thy friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as to thy adversary."

6. When the high-priest had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul, his fear was so prevalent, that he could not give credit to an apology that was very just: so he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill him, and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high-priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg, the Syrian, to kill them. Accordingly, he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and his family, which were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to Nob,* the city of the priests, and slew all that were there, without sparing either women or children, or any other age, and burnt it; only there was one son of Ahimelech, whose name was *Abiathar*, who escaped. However, these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high-priest, when he said, that his posterity should be destroyed, on account of the transgression of his two sons.

7. † Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so barbarous a crime and murdering the whole family of the high-priestly

* This city Nob was not a city allotted to the priests, nor had the prophets, that we know of, any particular cities allotted them. It seems the tabernacle was now at Nob, and probably a school of the prophets was here also. It was full two days' journey on foot from Jerusalem, 1 Sam. xxi. 5. The number of priests here slain in Josephus is 385 and but 85 in our Hebrew copies, yet are they 305 in the Septuagint: I prefer Josephus's number, the Hebrew having, I suppose, only dropped the hundreds, the other the tens. This city Nob seems to have been the chief, or perhaps the only seat of the family of Ithamar, which here perished, according to God's former terrible threatnings to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 27—36. iii. 11—18. See chap. xiv. § 9, hereafter.

† This section contains an admirable reflection of Josephus's concerning the general wickedness of men in great authority, and the danger they are in of rejecting that regard to justice and humanity, to divine providence and the fear of God, which they either really had, or pretended to have, while they were in a lower condition. It can never be too often perused by kings and great men, nor by those who expect to obtain such elevated dignities among mankind. See the like reflections of our Josephus's, *Antiq. B. vii. ch. i. § 5*, at the end, and *B. viii. ch.*

dignity, by having no pity of the infants, nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property, and for the support of the priests and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are private persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, nor to venture upon what they wish for, they are equitable and moderate, they pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labours that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is present to all the actions of their lives, and that he does not only see the actions that are done, but clearly knows those their thoughts, also, whence those actions do arise: but when once they are advanced into power and authority, then they put off all such notions, and as if they were no other than actors upon a theatre, they lay aside their disguised parts and manners, and take up boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and divine laws, and this at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think, and all they say, are in the view of all men; then it is, that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer, or were afraid of them because of their power: and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the rumours they hear, or they hate by inclination, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God; but as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard for it. They raise those to honour indeed who have been at a great deal of pains for them, and after that honour they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they do not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also on that very account of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, and such as on account of their extravagant nature, are incredible. They also punish men for their actions, not such as deserve condemnation, but from calumnies and accusations without examination; and this extends not only to such as deserve to be punished, but to as many as they are able to kill. This reflection is openly confirmed to us from the example of Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king who reign-

x. § 2, at the beginning. They are to the like purport with one branch of Agur's prayer, *One thing have I required of thee, deny me it not before I die; give me not riches, lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord?* Prov. xxx. 9.

ed after our aristocracy and government under the Judges were over; and that by his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets, on occasion of his suspicion about Ahimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this as if he were endeavouring in some sort to render the temple [tabernacle] destitute both of priests and prophets, which endeavour he showed by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so others might succeed them.

8. But Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befallen their family, and of the slaughter of his father: who hereupon said, "He was not unapprised of what would follow with relation to them when he saw Doeg there; for he had then a suspicion that the high-priest would be falsely accused by him to the king, and he blamed himself as having been the cause of this misfortune." But he desired him to stay there, and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than any where else.

CHAP. XIII.

How David, when he had twice the opportunity of killing Saul, did not kill him. Also concerning the death of Samuel and Nabal.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that David heard how the Philistines had made an inroad into the country of Keilah, and robbed it; so he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said, that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and he shed a great deal of their blood, and carried off their prey, and stayed with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. However, it was told Saul the king, that David was with the men of Keilah, for what had been done, and the great success that had attended him, were not confined among the people where the things were done, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fact as it stood, and the author of the fact, were carried to the king's ears. Then Saul was glad when he heard David was in Keilah; and he said, "God hath now put him into my hands, since he hath obliged him to come to a city that hath walls, and gates, and bars:" so he commanded

all the people to set upon Keilah suddenly, and when they had besieged and taken it, to kill David. But when David perceived this, and learned of God, that if he stayed there, the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men, and retired into a desert that was over a city called *Engedi*. So when the king heard that he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition against him.

2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the *New Place*, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan, the son of Saul, came to him, and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his condition hereafter, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but told him, that such happiness uses to come with great labour and pains: they also took oaths, that they would all their lives long continue in goodwill and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness, as to what execrations he had made upon himself, if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behaviour. So Jonathan left him there, having rendered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them; and [assured him] that if he would come to them, they would deliver him up, so that if the king would seize on the straits of Ziph, David could not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his enemy; and he promised them, that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness wherein he was; and he answered that he himself would follow them. Accordingly, they went before the king, to hunt for, and to catch David, and used endeavours not only to show their good will to Saul, by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they underwent no hazard by not discovering such an ambition of revealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse, and promise to deliver up a man beloved of God, and one that was unjustly sought for to be put to death, and one that might otherwise have lain concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from the king: for when David was apprized of the malignant intentions of the men of Ziph, and of the approach of Saul, he left the straits of that country, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

3. Hereupon Saul made haste to pursue him thither ; for as he was marching, he learned that David was gone away from the straits [of Ziph,] and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul another way, from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught, for he returned back again to oppose the Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of the danger he was in, and came to the straits of Engedi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers, who told him that David abode within the bounds of Engedi : so he took three thousand chosen men, that were armed, and made haste to him ; and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way-side ; it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men were concealed. When, therefore, he had a great occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone ; and being seen by one of David's companions, and he that saw him, saying to him, that " he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary ; and advising him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself out of that tedious wandering condition, and the distress he was in," he rose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on. But he soon repented of what he had done ; and said, it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom ; for that although he were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behoove me to be so disposed towards him. But when Saul had left the cave, David came near, and cried aloud, and desired Saul to hear him ; whereupon the king turned his face back, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him ; and said, " O king, thou oughtest not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the disposition of all men by their actions, for calumny deludes men, but men's own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words, indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view : by these, therefore, it would be well for thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee

and to thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this farther by pursuing after my life, and have no concern either day or night, but how to compass my life, and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly prosecute: for how comes it about that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou couldst kill, and deemest thine adversary a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it? nor made use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip, for when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done the same to thy head." So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and added, "I, for certain, have abstained from taking a just revenge* upon thee, yet art not thou ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God do justice, and determine about each of our dispositions." But Saul was amazed at the strange delivery he had received: and being greatly affected with the moderation and disposition of the young man he groaned; and when David had done the same, the king answered, that "he had the justest occasion to groan, for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of calamity to thee. And thou hast demonstrated this day, that thou possessest the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place, I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews: give me then assurances upon oath, that thou wilt not root out my family, nor, out of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and preserve my house." So David sware as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom; but he, and those that were with him, went up to the straits of Mastheroth.

5. About this time, Samuel the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honoured to an extraordinary degree, for that lamentation which the people made for him, and this during a long time, manifested his virtue, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the so-

* The phrase in David's speech to Saul, as set down in Josephus, that he had abstained from *just revenge*, puts me in mind of the like words in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. vii. ch. ii. that *revenge is not evil* but *that patience is more honourable*.

lemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observation of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature: and, on that account, he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high-priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together with Saul the king. And thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city Maon, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle; for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep these flocks without hurt and without damage, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness and so could not easily be discovered, but to esteem freedom from injustice above all other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as an horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that the favour he granted this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nabal, for that was his name; a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynic in the course of his behaviour, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good character, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants, at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them saluted him; and also wished he might do what he now did for many years to come, but desired him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he had, to be sure, learned from his shepherds, that he had done them no injury, but had been their guardians a long time together, while we continued in the wilderness; and he assured him, he should never repent of giving any thing to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them after an inhuman and rough manner; for he asked them, who David was? and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, "Now is the time, said he, that fugitives grow insolent, and make a figure, and leave their masters." When they told David this, he was wroth; and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him, and left two hundred to take care of the stuff, (for he had already

six hundred,*) and went against Nabal : he also swore, that he would that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nabal ; for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had showed him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

7. Hereupon, one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal, said to his mistress, Nabal's wife, that " when David sent to her husband, he had received no civil answer at all from him, but that her husband had moreover added very reproachful language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master." When the servant had said this, Abigail, for that was the wife's name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents ; and, without telling her husband any thing of what she was about, for he was not sensible, on account of his drunkenness, she went to David. She was then met by David as she was descending an hill, who was coming against Nabal with the four hundred men. When the woman saw David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground ; and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name ; now Nabal in the Hebrew tongue signifies *folly*. So she made her apology, " That she did not see the messengers whom he sent : forgive me, therefore, said she, and thank God, who hath hindered thee from shedding human blood ; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent,† he will avenge thee of wicked men, for what miseries await Nabal, they will fall

* The number of men that came first to David, are distinctly in Josephus, and our common copies, but 400. When he was at Keilah still but 400, both in Josephus and in the LXXII, but 600 in our Hebrew copies, 1 Sam. xxiii. 13. xxx. 9, 10. Now the 600 there mentioned, are here intimated by Josephus to have been so many, only by an augmentation of 200 afterward, which, I suppose, is the true solution of this seeming disagreement.

† In this, and the two next sections, we may perceive how Josephus, nay, how Abigail herself would understand, the *not avenging ourselves, but heaping coals of fire on the head of the injurious* Prov. xxv. 15. Rom. xii. 20, not as we commonly do now, of melting them into kindness, but of leaving them to the judgment of God, *to whom vengeance belongeth*, Deut. xxxii. 35. Psalm xciv. 1. Heb. x. 30, and who will take vengeance on the wicked. And since all God's judgments are just, and all fit to be executed, and all at length for good of the persons punished, I incline to think that to be the meaning of this phrase, *of heaping coals of fire on their heads*.

upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept these presents from me; and out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband, and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king." Accordingly, David accepted her presents, and said, "Nay, but O woman, it was no other than God's mercy which brought thee to us to-day, for otherwise thou hadst not seen another day, I having sworn* to destroy Nabal's house this very night, and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me, and seasonably mollified my anger, as being thyself under the care of God's providence: but as for Nabal, although for thy sake, he now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice, for his evil conduct, on some other occasion, will be his ruin."

8. When David had said this, he dismissed the woman. But when she came home, and found her husband feasting with a great company and oppressed with wine, she said nothing to him then about what had happened, but on the next day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them; so Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said that "God had justly avenged him of this man, for that Nabal died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his own hands clean." At which time he understood, that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is suitable to them, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came with all her servants, and became his wife, having received that honour on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honour partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, which he married from the city Abesar; for as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had

* We may note here, that how sacred soever an oath was esteemed among the people of God in old times, they did not think it obligatory where the action was plainly unlawful: for so we see it was in this case of David, who, although he had sworn to destroy Nabal and his family, yet does he here, and 1 Sam. xxv. 32—34, bless God for preventing his keeping this oath, and from shedding of blood, as he had sworn to do:

been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti, the son Laish, who was of the city Gallim.

9. After this, came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul, that David was come again into their country, and that if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and upon the approach of the night, he pitched his camp at a certain place called *Hachilah*. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at *Hachilah*, he concealed his going away from his own companions, and came to Saul's camp, having taken with him Abishai, his sister Zeruah's son, and Abimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep; and the armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle. Hereupon David entered into the king's tent, but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was stuck down by him, nor did he give leave to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it so to do: for he said, "It was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he were a wicked man: for that he who gave him the dominion, would in time inflict punishment upon him." So he restrained his eagerness: but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him when he refrained from it, he took his spear, and the cruise of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any in the camp, who were all asleep, and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of an hill, whence he might be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awaked them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him? To whom David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what is the matter? Dost thou that art a man of so great dignity, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body; and is sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when a little while ago some of us entered into your camp, nay, as far as to the king himself, and to all the rest of you. If thou look for the king's spear, and his cruise of water, thou wilt

learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp, without your knowing of it." Now, when Saul knew David's voice, and understood, that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spared him, when he might justly have cut him off, he said, that "he owed him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not to be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was loved by him; that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good-will to him; that he had forced him to a live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kindred, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing." So David bid them send for the spear and the cruise of water, and take them back; adding this withal, that "God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same, who knows, that when it was this day in my power to have killed thee, I abstained from it."

10. Thus Saul having escaped the hands of David twice, he went his way to his royal palace, and his own city: but David was afraid, that if he stayed there, he sould be caught by Saul, so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines and abide there. Accordingly, he came with the six hundred men that were with him to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of their five cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no farther care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice, in a manner, caught by him, while he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favour, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation, for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called *Ziklag*; which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But about those matters we shall give the reader farther information elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in *Ziklag*, in the land of the Philitines, was four months and twenty

days. And now he privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and camels, and then returned home: but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discover him to king Achish, yet did he send part of the prey to him as a free gift. And when the king inquired whom they had attacked when they brought away the prey, he said, those that lay to the south of the Jews, and inhabited in the plain; whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he had done, for he hoped that David had fought against his own nation, and that now he should have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

CHAP. XIV.

How Saul, upon God's not answering him concerning the fight with the Philistines, desired a necromantic woman to raise up the soul of Samuel to him; and how he died, with his sons, upon the overthrow of the Hebrews in battle.

§ 1. ABOUT the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent to all their confederates that they would go along with them to the war to Reggen, [near the city Shunem,] whence they might gather themselves together, and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king Gath, desire David to assist them with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised; and said, that the time was now come wherein he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality: so the king promised to make him the keeper of his body after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind: which promise of honour and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal and service.

2. Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had cast out of the country the fortune-tellers and the necomancers, and all such as exercised the like arts, excepting the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already come, and had pitched their camp near the city Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain mountain called *Gilboa*, he pitched his camp over against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous, and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it

And when God did not answer him, Saul was under a still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreseeing, as was but reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for some woman that was a necromancer, and called up the souls of the dead, that so he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women, who bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretell future events to such as desire them. And one of his servants told him, that there was such a woman in the city Endor, but was known to nobody in the camp; hereupon Saul put off his royal apparel, and took two of those his servants with him whom he knew to be the most faithful to him, and came to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a fortune-teller, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said, "She did not despise the king, who had banished this sort of fortune-tellers, and that he did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, to endeavour to lay a snare for her, and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to procure her to be punished." He swore that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she would incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by his oath to fear no harm, he bid her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder; and being astonished at the sight, she said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her, "Whence her disorder arose?" she said that she saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like to a God." And when he bid her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was? she told him, "He was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had on a sacerdotal mantle." So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him, "Why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up?" he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, "that his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming, neither by prophets, nor by dreams; and that these were the reasons why

I have recourse to thee, who always tookest care of me." But Samuel* seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is in vain for thee to desire to learn of me any thing farther, when God hath forsaken thee : however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success ; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandments, as I foretold thee while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle to-morrow, and thou shall then be with me [in Hades.]"

3. When Saul had heard this, he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had not taken any food the foregoing day nor night, he easily fell quite down : and when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging this of him as a favour, on account of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortune-telling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she was under of the king, while she knew not who he was, yet did she undertake it, and go through with it ; on which account, she entreated him to admit that a table and food might be set before him, that he might re-collect his strength, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had one calf that she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself, for she was a woman that got her living by the labour of her own hands, and had no other possession but that one calf, this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was yet night.

4. Now it is but just to recommend† the generosity of

* This history of Saul's consultation, not with a *witch*, as we render the Hebrew word here, but with a *necromancer*, as the whole history shows, is easily understood, especially if we consult the recognitions of Clement, B. i. ch. v. at large, and more briefly, and nearer the days of Samuel, Eccles. xlvi. 20, *Samuel prophesied after his death, and showed the king his end, and lift up his voice from the earth in prophesy, to blot out the wickedness of the people.* Nor does the exactness of the accomplishment of this prediction the very next day, permit us to suppose any imposition upon Saul in the present history ; for as to all modern hypotheses against the natural sense of such ancient and authentic histories, I take them to be of very small value or consideration.

† These great commendations of this necromantic woman of Endor,

this woman, because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had had no acquaintance with, but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only creature she had, as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and with great humanity, while she had no requital made her for her kindness, nor hunted after any future favour from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefits upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore, to imitate the example of this woman, and to do kindnesses to all such as are in want; and to think that nothing is better, nor more becoming mankind, than such a general beneficence, nor what will sooner render God favourable and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to have spoken concerning this woman. But I shall speak farther upon another subject, which will afford me the opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, and people, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue, and is capable of showing them the method of acquiring glory, and an everlasting fame, and of imprinting in the kings of nations, and the rulers of cities, great inclination and diligence of doing well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible adversities: and I have a fair occasion offered me to enter on such a discourse by Saul, the king of the Hebrews; for although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life, as to betray his own people to the enemy, or to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity, but exposing himself, as well as all his family and children to dangers, he thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better his sons should die thus,

and of Saul's martial courage, when yet he knew he should die in the battle, are somewhat unusual digressions in Josephus. They seem to me extracted from some speeches or declamations of his composed formerly, in the way of oratory, that lay by him, and which he thought fit to insert upon this occasion. See before on Antiq. B. ii. ch. vi. § 3. vol. i.

showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterward, while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such an one alone seems to me to be a just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall hereafter arrive at them, he is the man that ought to be by all honoured with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man; for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall return safe, supposing they should have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many historians and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess those do justly deserve some commendation also, but those only may be styled courageous and bold, in great undertakings, and despisers of adversities, who imitate Saul; for as for those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not faint in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain futurity, and are tossed this way and that way, this is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this neither to be affrighted, nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go directly upon it, when they know it beforehand, that it is what I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly, this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated that all men who desire fame after they were dead, are so to act as they may obtain the same: this especially concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high station, that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be no more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient, but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

5 Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered, that "it was David who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came

to him, and that now he was willing to make him this requital for his favours, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate." The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy, and gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief by entertaining him, for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master, by doing mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him, out of a prudent foresight of this to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; that this was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well: so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines, go, therefore, within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which will be one part of that assistance which I expect from thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bid him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it; and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they departed.

6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well his own wives, which were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he presently rent his clothes, weeping and lamenting, together with his friends; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes, that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened: but when he had recovered himself out of his grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high-priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophesy to him, "Whether God would grant, that if he pursued after the Amalekites, he should overtake them, and save their wives and their children, and avenge himself on the enemies." And when the high-priest bid him to pursue af-

ter them, he marched apace, with his six hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called *Besor*, and had light upon one that was wandering about, an Egyptian by birth, who was almost dead with want and famine, (for he had continued wandering about without food in the wilderness three days,) he first of all gave him sustenance, both meat and drink, and thereby refreshed him: he then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came? Whereupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him, that he was one of those that had burnt and plundered not only other parts of Judea, but *Ziklag* itself also. So David made use of him as a guide to find out the Amalekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered and entirely drunk with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them, for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table, were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and some of them when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on all their armour, they slew them with the sword, with no less ease than they did those that were naked: and for the partisans of David, they continued also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were not above four hundred of the Amalekites left, and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels. Accordingly, David recovered not only all the other spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions: but when they were come to the place where they had left the two hundred men, which were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think fit to divide among them any other parts of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since they did not accompany them, but pretended to be feeble, and did not follow them in the pursuit of the enemy, but said, they should be contented to have safely recovered their wives; yet David did pronounce, that this opinion of theirs was evil and unjust, and that when God had granted them such a favour, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recover-

ed all that belonged to themselves, they should make an equal distribution of what they had gotten to all, because the rest had tarried behind to guard their stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff, should receive an equal share with those that fought in the battle. Now when David was come to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoils to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah: and thus ended the affairs of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistines became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies; but Saul, the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost alacrity, as knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honourably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from the enemy, (for they had nothing else to hope for,) so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were encompassed round and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines. Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchisua; and when these were slain, the multitude of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder, and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them: but Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines sending after them those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few; as for himself, he fought with great bravery, and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up, nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bid his armour-bearer draw his sword, and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive; but his armour-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it, and when he could neither run it through him, nor by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was? and when he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away; and when Saul's armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he

killed himself; nor did any of the king's guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called *Gilboa*. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about him were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul, and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them that their enemies were fallen; and they dedicated their armour in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city Bethshan, which is now called *Scythopolis*. But when the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul, and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardy among them, (and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in body and mind,) journeyed all night, and came to Bethshan, and approached to the enemies' wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul, and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were notable enough, nor bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage: so the people of Jabesh wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place in their country, which was named *Areura*; and they observed a public mourning for him seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without tasting either meat or drink* [till the evening.]

* This way of speaking in Josephus, of *fasting seven days without meat or drink*, is almost like that of St. Paul's, Acts xxvii. 33; *This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried, and continued fasting, having taken nothing*; and as the nature of the thing, and the impossibility of strictly fasting so long, require us here to understand both Josephus, and the sacred author of this history, 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, from whom he took it, of only fasting till the evening; so must we understand St. Paul, either that this was really the *fourteenth day* of their tempestuous weather in the Adriatic sea, as ver. 27, and that on this fourteenth day alone they had *continued fasting, and had taken nothing* before the evening. The mention of their *long abstinence*, ver. 21, inclines me to believe the former explication to be the truth, and that the case was then for a *fortnight*, what it was here for a *week*, that they all kept those days entirely as fasts till the evening, but not longer. See Judges xx. 26. xxi. 2. 1 Sam. xiv. 24. 2 Sam. i. 12. Antiq. B. vii. ch. vii. § 4.

9. To this his end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the command of God about the Amalekites, and on that account of his destroying the family of Ahimelech the high-priest, with Ahimelech himself, and the city of the high-priests. Now Saul, when he had reigned eighteen years, while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty,] ended his life in this manner.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 40 YEARS.

[From the death of Saul to the death of David.]

CHAP. I.

How David reigned over one tribe at Hebron, while the son of Saul reigned over the rest of the multitude; and how, in the civil war which then arose, Asahel and Abner were slain.

§ 1. THIS fight proved to be on the same day whereon David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he had made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied from the battle of the Israelites: and he informed him, that the end of it was unfortunate, many ten thousands of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul, together with his sons, slain. He also said, that he could well give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled: nor did he deny that he had himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and he himself exhorted him to do it, because, when he was fallen on his sword his great wounds had made him so weak, that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced demonstrations that the king was slain, which were the golden bracelets that had been on the king's arms, and his crown, which he had taken away from Saul's dead body, and had brought them to him. So David having no longer any room to call in question the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident marks that Saul was dead, he rent his garment, and continued all that day with his companions, in weeping and lamentation. This grief was augmented by the consideration of Jonathan, the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated him-

self to have such great virtue, and such great kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him ; for when David had said to him, that was become his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, he left off his mourning ; and inquired of God by the prophet, which of the cities of the tribe called the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to dwell in ? Who answered, that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Ziklag, and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, which were in number two, and his armed men ; whereupon all the people of the fore mentioned tribe came to him, and ordained him their king. But when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead had buried Saul and his sons [honourably,] he sent to them, and commended them, and took what they had done kindly and promised to make them amends for their care of those that were dead ; and at the same time he informed them, that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

3. But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was general of Saul's army, and a very active man, and good natured, knew that the king, and Jonathan, and his two other sons, were fallen in the battle, he had made haste into the camp ; and taking away with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was *Ishbosheth*, he passed over to the land beyond Jordan, and ordained him the king of the whole multitude, excepting the tribe of Judah ; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language *Mahanaim*, but in the language of the Grecians, *The camps* : from whence Abner made haste, with a select body of soldiers, to fight with such of the tribe of Judah as were disposed to it, for he was angry that this tribe had set up David for their king. But Joab, whose father was Suri, and his mother Zeruah, David's sister, who was general of David's army, met him, accordingly to David's appointment. He had with him his brethren Abishai, and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibeon, he prepared to fight : and when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the most valiant soldiers, it was agreed between them, that twelve soldiers of each side should fight together. So those that were chosen out by both the

generals for this fight, came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, they drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran each other's sword's into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the army came to a sore battle, and Abner's men were beaten; and when they were beaten, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great alacrity, and especially the younger, Asahel, who was the most eminent of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have overrun an horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon Abner turned back, and attempted artfully to avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armour of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to restrain himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and they should then not be able to look his brother in the face. But when Asahel would not admit of any persuasions, but still continued to pursue him, Abner smote him with his spear, as he held it in his flight, and that by a back-stroke, and gave him a deadly wound, so that he died immediately: but those that were with him pursuing Abner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood round about the dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However both Joab* himself, and his brother Abishai, ran past the dead corpse, and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater zeal against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called *Ammah*: it was about sun-set. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at that place, having the tribe of Benjamin with him, whence he took a view of them, and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner cried aloud, and said, "that it was not fit that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly one against another: that as for Asahel his brother, he was himself in the wrong, when he would not

* It ought here to be noted, that Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, were all three David's nephews, the sons of his sister Zeruah, as 1 Chron. ii. 16, and that Amasa was also his nephew by his other sister Abigail, ver. 17.

be advised by him not to pursue him any farther, which was the occasion of his wounding and death." So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these his words as an excuse [about Asahel,] and called the soldiers back with the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby put a stop to any farther pursuit. After which, Joab pitched his camp there at night : but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to Ishbosheth, Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took care of all their funerals. Now there were slain of Abner's soldiers about three hundred and sixty, but of those of David nineteen, and Asahel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem ; and when they had buried him in the sepulchre of their fathers, they came to David to Hebron. From this time, therefore, there began an intestine war, which lasted a great while, in which the followers of David grew stronger in the dangers they underwent, and the servants and subjects of Saul's son did almost every day become weaker.

4. About this time David was become the father of six sons, born of as many mothers. The eldest was by Ahinoam, and he was called *Amnon* ; the second was *Daniel*, by his wife Abigail ; the name of the third was *Absalom*, by Maachah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur ; the fourth he named *Adonijah*, by his wife Haggith ; the fifth was *Shephatiah*, by Abigail ; the sixth he called *Ithream*, by Eglah. Now while this intestine war went on, and while the subjects of the two kings came frequently to action, and to fighting, it was Abner, the general of the host of Saul's son, who, by his prudence, and the great interest he had among the multitude, made them all continue with Ishbosheth ; and indeed it was a considerable time that they continued of his party ; but afterward Abner was blamed, and an accusation was led against him, that he went in to Saul's concubine ; her name was *Rispa*, the daughter of Aiah. So when he was complained of by Ishbosheth, he was very uneasy, and angry at it, because he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness ; whereupon he threatened that he would transfer the kingdom to David, and demonstrate that he did not rule over the people beyond Jordan by his own abilities and wisdom, but by his warlike conduct and fidelity, in learning his army. So he sent ambassadors of Hebron to David, and desired that he would give him security upon oath, that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, upon condition that he should persuade the people to leave Saul's son, and to choose him king of the whole country.

And when David had made that league with Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, he desired that he would give this as the first mark of performance of the present league, that he might have his wife Michal restored to him, as her whom he had purchased with great hazards, and with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself affording him his assistance, for David had written to him that of right he ought to have this his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the multitude, the commanders, and captains of thousands, and speak thus to them; that "he had formerly dissuaded them from their own resolution when they were ready to forsake Ishbosheth, and to join themselves to David; that, however, he now gave them leave so to do, if they had a mind to do it, for they knew that God had appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews, by Samuel the Prophet; and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under." Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those sentiments about the public affairs which they were of before, they changed their measures, and come in to David. When these men had agreed to Abner's proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all of that tribe were the guards of Ishbosheth's body, and he spake to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned themselves up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends, and came to David in order to receive himself security upon oath from him; for we may justly esteem those things to be firmer which every one of us do by ourselves, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin. And when David had received him in a courteous manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, desired him to permit him to bring the multitude with him, that he might deliver up the government to him, when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

5. When David had sent Abner away, Joab, the general of his army, came immediately to Hebron; and when he had understood that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before, under leagues and agreements, that the government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who had assisted him to gain

the kingdom, in the first rank of dignity, especially since he was a shrewd man in other respects, in understanding affairs, and in managing them artfully, as proper seasons should require, and that he should himself be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army, so he took a knavish and wicked course. In the first place, he endeavoured to calumniate Abner to the king, exhorting him to have a care of him, and not to give attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did, tended to confirm the government to Saul's son; that he came to him deceitfully, and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this management. But when he could not thus persuade David, nor saw him at all exasperated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former. He determined to kill Abner; and in order thereto, he sent some messengers after him, to whom he gave in charge, that when they should overtake him, they should recall him in David's name, and tell him that he had somewhat to say to him about his affairs which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now when Abner heard what the messengers said, (for they overtook him in a certain place called *Besira*, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs,) he suspected none of the mischief which was befalling him, and came back. Hereupon Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner's most benevolent acquaintance and friend; for such as undertake the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of any private mischief intended, do frequently make the greatest pretences to what really good men sincerely do. So he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and brought him into a void place of the gate, having himself nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he drew his sword, and smote him in the groin; upon which Abner died by this treachery of Joab's, which, as he said himself, was in way of punishment for his brother Asahel, whom Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron, but as the truth was, out of fear of his losing his command of the army, and his dignity with the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner should obtain the first rank in David's court. By these examples, any one may learn, how many and how great instances of wickedness men will venture upon, for the sake of getting money and authority, and that they may not fail of either of them; for as when they are desirous of obtaining the same, they acquire them by ten thousand evil practices, so when they are afraid of losing them, they get them confirmed to them by practices

much worse than the former, as if [no] other calamity so terrible could befall them, as the failure of acquiring so exalted an authority, and when they have acquired it, and by long custom found the sweetness of it, the losing of it again; and since this last would be the heaviest of all afflictions, they all of them contrive and venture upon the most difficult actions, out of the fear of losing the same. But let it suffice that I have made these short reflections upon that subject.

6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul; and he called all men to witness, with stretching out his hands to God, and crying out, that he was not a partaker in the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or approbation. He also wished the heaviest curses might light upon him that slew him, and upon his whole house, and he devoted those that had assisted him in this murder to the same penalties on its account; for he took care not to appear to have had any hand in this murder, contrary to the assurances he had given, and the oaths he had taken to Abner. However, he commanded all the people to weep and lament this man, and to honour his dead body with the usual solemnities; that is, by rending their garments, and putting on sackcloth, and that this should be the habit in which they should go before the bier; after which he followed it himself, with the elders, and those that were rulers, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron in a magnificent manner, and indited funeral elegies for him: he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to do the same: nay, so deeply did the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, but he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This procedure gained him the good will of the multitude; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily satisfied with the respect he paid him when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had plighted to him, which was showed in his vouchsafing him all the usual ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman and his friend, and not suffering him to be neglected and injured with a dishonourable burial, as if he had been his enemy; insomuch, that the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, every one being ready to suppose that the king would have taken the same care of them, in the like circumstances, which they saw he showed in the burial of the dead body of Abner. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good

reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case, whence none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abner's death. He also said this to the multitude, that "he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man, and that the affairs of the Hebrews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the strength of his hands in war. But he added, that God, who hath a regard to all men's actions, will not suffer this man [Joab] to go off unrevenged; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruah, Joab, and Abishai, who have more power than I have, but God will requite their insolent attempts upon their own heads." And this was the fatal conclusion of the life of Abner.

CHAP. II.

That upon the slaughter of Ishbosheth, by the treachery of his friends, David received the whole kingdom.

§ 1. WHEN Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, had heard of the death of Abner he took it to heart, to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abner's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Rimmon, (Baanah and Rechab were their names,) and was slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought, that if they should slay Ishbosheth, they should obtain large presents from David, and be made commanders by him, or, however, should have some other trust committed to them: so when they once found him alone and asleep at noon, in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labour she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went into the room in which Ishbosheth, Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head; and took their journey all that night, and the next day, as supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would accept of this action as a favour, and would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him, as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist. Yet David did not relish what they had done, as they expected, but

said to them, "You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favour to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies? or do you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and suppose that I am not the same man I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when you have slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with great good will and respect? Wherefore, you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and the vengeance I ought to inflict upon you for killing Ishbosheth, and for supposing that I should take his death kindly at your hands; for you could not lay a greater blot on my honour than by making such a supposal." When David had said this, he tormented them with all sorts of torments, and then put them to death; and he bestowed all accustomed rites on the burial of the head of Ishbosheth, and laid it in the grave of Abner.

2. When these things were brought to this conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, with the heads of thousands, and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, putting him in mind of the good will they had borne to him in Saul's lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen of God by Samuel the prophet* he and his sons; and declared besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews, and to overcome the Philistines. Whereupon he received kindly this their alacrity on his account; and exhorted them to continue in it, for that they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them kindly, he sent them out to bring all the people to him; upon which there came to him about six thousand eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had [till now] continued with Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had ordained David for their king. There came also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi, came four thou-

* This may be a true observation of Josephus's, that Samuel, by command from God, entailed the crown on David and his posterity, for no farther did that entail ever reach, Solomon himself having never had any promise made him that his posterity should always have the right to it.

sand and seven hundred, having Jehoiada for their leader. After these came Zadok, the high-priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamin, the armed men were four thousand, but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valour, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand of the most potent men. Out of the tribe of Issachar, came two hundred,* who foreknew what was to come hereafter, but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulon, fifty thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that came universally unto David, and all these had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad. Out of the tribe of Nephthali, the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being [in a manner] innumerable, [thirty-seven thousand.] Out of the tribe of Dan, there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Out of the two tribes that were beyond Jordan, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields, and spears, and head-pieces, and swords, were an hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn, and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.

CHAP. III.

How David laid siege to Jerusalem; and when he had taken the city, he cast the Canaanites out of it, and brought in the Jews to inhabit therein.

§ 1. Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates,

* These words of Josephus concerning the tribe of Issachar, *who foreknew what was to come hereafter*, are best paraphrased by the parallel text, 1 Chr. xii. 32. *Who had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do*; that is, who had so much knowledge in astronomy as to make calendars for the Israelites, that they might keep their festivals, and plough and sow, and gather in their harvests and vintage in due season.

and placed the blind and the lame, and all their maimed persons upon the wall, in way of derision of the king; and said, that "the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it." This they did out of contempt of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem, and employed his utmost diligence and alacrity therein, as intending, by the taking of this place, to demonstrate his power, and to intimidate all others that might be of the like [evil] disposition towards him: so he took the lower city by force, but the citadel* held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they were all ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great, in order to ascend thither, out of their desire of the chief command. However, Joab, the son of Zeruiab, prevented the rest; and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

2. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it, *The city of David*, and abode there all the time of his reign: but for the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only, in Hebron, it was seven years and six months. Now when he had chosen

* What our other copies say of mount Zion, as alone properly called the *city of David*, 2 Sam. v. 6—9, and of this its siege and conquest now by David, Josephus applies to the whole city Jerusalem, though including the citadel also: by what authority we do not now know; perhaps after David had united them together, or joined the citadel to the lower city, as § 2, Josephus esteemed them as one city. However, this nation seems to be confirmed by what the same Josephus says concerning David's and many other kings of Judah's sepulchres, which, as the authors of the books of Kings and Chronicles say, were in the *city of David*, so does Josephus still say they were in *Jerusalem*. The sepulchre of David seems to have been also a known place in the several days of Hyrcanus, of Herod, and of St. Peter, Antiq. B. xiii. ch. viii. § 4. B. xvi. ch. vii. § 1. vol. iii. Acts ii. 29. Now no such royal sepulchres have been found about mount Zion, but are found close by the north wall of Jerusalem, which I suspect, therefore, to be these very sepulchres. See the note on ch. xv. § 3. In the mean time, Josephus's explication of the *lame, and the blind, and the maimed*, as set to keep the city or citadel, seems to be the truth, and gives the best light to that history in our Bible. Mr. Ottius truly observes, *ap. Havercamp*, p. 305, that Josephus never mentions mount Zion by that name, as taking it for an appellative, as I suppose, and not for a proper name: he still either styles it the *citadel*, or the *upper city*; nor do I see any reason for Mr. Ottius's evil suspicions about this procedure of Josephus's.

Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs did more and more prosper, by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and be augmented. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and assistance with him. He also sent him presents, cedar-trees, and mechanics, and men skilful in building and architecture, that they might build him a royal palace at Jerusalem. Now David made buildings round about the lower city; he also joined the citadel to it, and made it one body; and when he had encompassed all with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name, [*The city of David;*] for under our forefather Abraham it was called [*Salem, or*] *Solyma* ;* but after that time, some say that Homer mentions it by that name of *Solyma*, [[for he named the temple *Solyma*, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes *security*.]] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews, (nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until this time, when David took it by siege,) this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years.

3. I shall now make mention of Araunah, who was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself, which I shall take a more seasonable opportunity to speak of a little afterwards. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he had also concubines. The sons which he had were in number eleven, whose names were Amnon, Emon, Eban, Nathan, Solomon, Jehan, Elien, Phalna, Enna-

* Some copies of Josephus have here *Solyma* or *Salem*, and others *Hierosolyma*, or *Jerusalem*. The latter best agree to what Josephus says elsewhere, Of the War, B. vi. ch. x. that this city was called *Solyma*, or *Salem*, before the days of Melchizedec, but was by him called *Hierosolyma*, or *Jerusalem*, I rather suppose it to have been called after Abraham had received that oracle *Jehovah Jireh, the Lord will see or provide*, Gen. xxii. 14. The latter word, *Jireh*, with a little alteration prefixed to the old name *Salem, peace*, will be *Jerusalem*. And since that expression, *God will see*, or rather, *God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering*, ver. 8, 14, is there said to have been proverbial till the days of Moses; this seems me the most probable derivation of that name, which will then denote, that *God would provide peace by the lamb of God, which was to take away the sins of the world*. However, that which is put into double brackets can hardly be supposed the genuine words of Josephus, as Dr. Hudson well judges.

phen, Janae, Eliphale; and a daughter, Tamar. Nine of these were born of legitimate wives, but the two last named of concubines; and Tamar had the same mother with Absalom.

CHAP. IV.

That when David had conquered the Philistines, who made war against him at Jerusalem, he removed the ark to Jerusalem, and had a mind to build a temple.

§ 1. WHEN the Philistines understood that David was making of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had seized upon that valley which is called the valley of the *Giants*, and is a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp therein. But the king of the Jews,* who never permitted himself to do any thing without prophecy, and the command of God, and without depending on him as a security for the time to come, bid the high-priest to foretel to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of this battle. And when he foretold that he should gain the victory, and the dominion, he led out his army against the Philistines; and when the battle was joined, he came himself behind, and fell upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action, or that was worth recording, from the slowness of their march, and want of courage, but let him know that all Syria and Phœnicia, with many other nations besides them, and those warlike nations also, came to their assistance, and had a share in this war: which thing was the only cause why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their purpose in these bat-

* It deserves here to be remarked, that Saul very rarely, and David very frequently, consulted God by *Urim*; and that David aimed always to depend, not on his own prudence or abilities, but on the divine direction, contrary to Saul's practice. See § 2, and the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. viii. § 9, vol. i. And when Saul's daughter, (but David's wife,) Michal, laughed at David's dancing before the ark, 2 Sam. vi. 16, &c. and here, § 1, 2, 3, it is probable she did so, because her father Saul did not use to pay such regard to that ark, to the *Urim* there inquired by, or to God's worship before it, and because she thought it beneath the dignity of a king to be so religious.

tles, they came upon David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel, therefore, inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and the high-priest prophesied to him, that he should keep his army in the groves called the *Groves of weeping*, which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight, till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the wind's blowing; but as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should, without delay, go out to gain what was already prepared, and evident victory: for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but he retreated at the first onset, whom he closely followed, and slew them as he went along, and pursued them to the city Gaza, (which is the limit of their country:) after this he spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches; and he destroyed their gods.

2 When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders, and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those that were in the flower of their age out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and withal for the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring up the ark of God out of that city, and to carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and offer before it those sacrifices, and those other honours with which God used to be well pleased; for had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they had not undergone any great misfortune at all. So when the whole body of the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priests brought out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king, and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs useful among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sound of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah* was slain by the anger of God; for as the oxen

* Josephus seems to be partly in the right, when he observes here, that Uzzah was no priest, (though perhaps he might be a levite,) and was, therefore, struck dead for touching the ark, contrary to the law, and for which profane rashness, death was the penalty by that law, Numb. iv. 15, 20. See the like before, Antiq. B. vi. ch. i. § 4. It is not improbable that the putting this ark in a cart, when it ought to have been

shook the ark, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of it. Now, because he was not a priest, and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead : hereupon both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah ; and the place where he died is still called the *Breach of Uzzah* unto this day. So David was afraid, and supposing that if he received the ark to himself into the city, he might suffer in the like manner as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his bare putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, he did not receive it to himself into the city, but he took it aside unto a certain place belonging to a righteous man, whose name was *Obededom*, who was by his family a Levite, and deposited the ark with him ; and it remained there three entire months : this augmented the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, how he was become of a poor man, in a low estate, exceeding happy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he took courage, and hoping that he should meet with no misfortune thereby, he transferred the ark to his own house, the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers, who were set in that order by the king, went before it, and while he himself played upon the harp, and joined in the music, insomuch that when his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul, who was our first king, saw him so doing, she laughed at him. But when they had brought in the ark, they placed it under the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and treated the whole multitude, and dealt both to the women, and the men, and the infants, a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with a portion of the sacrifice. So when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and he himself returned to his own house.

3. But when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all other happiness ; and entreated that whatsoever he should farther desire, to the utmost possibility might be given him by God, and that he might be favourable to him ; yet did she blame him, that so great a king as he was should dance after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing, uncover himself among the servants and the hand-maidens. But he replied, “ That he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him be-

carried by the priests or Levites, as it was presently here in Josephus so carried from Obededom's house to David's, might be also an occasion of the anger of God on that breach of his law. See Nunb. iv. 15. 1 Chron. xv. 13.

fore her father, and before all others : that he would play frequently, and dance, without any regard to what the handmaidens and she herself thought of it." So this Michal, who was David's wife, had no children ; however when she was afterward married to him to whom Saul her father had given her, (for at this time David had taken her away from him, and had her himself,) she bare five children. But concerning those matters I shall discourse in a proper place.

4. Now, when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the will of God, he thought he should offend him, if, while he himself continued in houses made of cedar, such as were of a great height, and had the most curious works of architecture in them, he should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle, and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses* had predicted such a temple should be built. And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his helper in all things, he was thereupon the more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to say to David, † that " he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple, although upon his having such a notion, he would not permit him to build him that temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies : that, however, after his death, in his old age, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should take the kingdom after him, and should be called *Solomon*, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them, but that he would

* Josephus here informs us, that, according to his understanding of the sense of his copy of the Pentateuch, Moses had himself foretold the building of the temple, which yet is no where that I know of in our present copies: and that this is not a mistake set down by him unwarily, appears by what he observed before, *Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. §. 46. vol. i.* how Moses foretold, that upon the Jews' future obedience, their temple should be burnt and rebuilt, and that not once only, but several times afterward. See also Josephus's mention of God's former commands to build such a temple presently, *ch. xiv. § 2*, contrary to our other copies, or at least to our translation of the Hebrew, *2 Sam. vii. 6, 7. 1 Chron. xvii. 5, 6.*

† Josephus seems, in this place, with our modern interpreters, to confound the two distinct predictions which God made to David, and to Nathan, concerning the building him a temple by one of David's posterity, the one belonging to Solomon, the other to the Messiah; the distinction between which, is of the greatest consequence to the Christian religion,

still punish him, if he sinned, with diseases, and barrenness of land." When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyful at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid, and very famous, he came to the ark, and fell down on his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him, in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion and glory; as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed: and when he had said thus, and had sung an hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

CHAP. V.

How David brought under the Philistines, and the Moabites, and the king of Sophene, and of Damascus, and of the Syrians, as also the Idumeans, in war; and how he made a league with the king of Hamath; and was mindful of the friendship that Jonathan, the son of Saul, had borne to him.

§ 1. A LITTLE while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove as God had foretold to him, that when he had overthrown his enemies, he should leave his posterity to reign in peace afterward: so he called together his army again, and when he had charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines: and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country and adjoined it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome two parts of their army in battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene: and when he had joined battle with him at the river Euphrates he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thousand of his horsemen. He also took a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the greatest part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred* should be kept.

* David's reserving only 100 chariots for himself out of 1000 he had taken from Hadadezer, was most probably done in compliance with the

2. Now when Hadad,* king of Damascus, and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue him; and when he had joined battle with David, at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicolas also [of Damascus] makes mention of this king, in the fourth book of his histories; where he speaks thus: "A great while after these things had happened, there was one of that country whose name was *Hadad*, who was become very potent; he reigned over Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, excepting Phœnicia. He made war against David, the king of Judea, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most excellent of all their kings in strength and manhood." Nay, besides this he says of his posterity, that "after his death, they succeeded one another in his kingdom and in his name;" where he thus speaks: "When Hadad was dead, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each of his successors receiving from his father that his dominion, and this his name; as did the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and was willing to avenge the defeat his forefather had received: so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the city which is now called *Samaria*." Nor did he err from the truth; for this is that Hadad who made the expedition against Samaria in the reign of Ahab king of Israel; concerning whom we shall speak in due place hereafter.

3. Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and appointed that they should pay tribute, he returned home.

law of Moses, which forbade a king of Israel to multiply horses to himself, Deut. xvii. 16, one of the principal uses of horses in Judea at that time being for drawing their chariots. See Joshua xii. 6, and Antiq. B. v. ch. i. § 18. vol. i.

* It deserves here to be remarked, that this *Hadad*, being a very great king, was conquered by David, whose posterity yet for several generations were called *Benhadad*, or the *son of Hadad*, till the days of Hazael, whose son *Adar* or *Ader* is also in our Hebrew copy, 2 Kings xiii. 24, written *Benhadad*, but in Josephus *Adad* or *Adar*. And strange it is, that the son of Hazael, said to be such in the same text, and in Josephus, Antiq. B. ix. ch. viii. § 7, should still be called the *son of Hadad*; I would, therefore, here correct our Hebrew copy from Josephus's, which seems to have the true reading.

He also dedicated to God, at Jerusalem, the golden quivers, the entire armour which the guards of Hadad used to wear, which Shishak, the king of Egypt, took away when he fought with David's grand-son Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem: however, these things will come to be explained in their proper places hereafter. Now, as for the king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars; and he made an expedition against the best cities of Hadadezer, Bethah and Machon; so he took them by force, and laid them waste. Therein was found a very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold; of which brass Solomon made that large vessel which was called the [*brazen*] sea, and those most curious *lavers*, when he built the temple for God.

4. But when the king of Hamath was informed of the ill success of Hadadezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him; so he sent to him his son Joram, and professed that he owed him thanks for his fighting against Hadadezer, who was his enemy, and made a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So when David had made this league of mutual assistance with Toi, (for that was the name of the king of Hamath,) and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due on both sides. But then David brought those presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, and led his own army, but he gave victory to Abishai, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumeans,* and by him to David, when he sent him with an army into Idumea; for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king [of Israel] placed garrisons through all Idumea, and received the tribute of the country, and of every head among them. Now

* By this great victory over the Idumeans or Edomites, the posterity of Esau, and by the consequent tribute paid by that nation to the Jews were the prophecies delivered to Rebecca before Jacob and Esau were born, and by old Isaac before his death, that *the elder*, Esau, or the Edomites, *should serve the younger*, Jacob, or the Israelites, and Jacob or the Israelites, *should be* Esau's, or the Edomites', the Lord remarkably fulfilled. See Antiq. B. viii. ch. vii. § 6. Gen. xxv. 23, and the notes on Antiq. B. i. ch. xviii. § 5, 6, vol. i.

David was in his nature just, and made his determination with regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army, Joab : and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phineas, to be high-priest, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend. He also made Seisan the scribe ; and committed the command over the guards of his body to Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him ; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities, with which he was endowed, he was also exceeding mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him : he therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineage were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Saul's freed-men was brought to him who was acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him, " Whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan ?" And when he said, " That a son of his was remaining, whose name was *Mephibosheth*, but that he was lame of his feet ; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child were fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed." So when he had learned where, and by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to Machir, to the city of Lodebar, for with him was the son of Jonathan brought up, and sent for him to come to him. So when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and worshipped him ; but David encouraged him, and bid him be of good cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him his father's house, and all the estate which his grand-father Saul was in possession of, and bid him come and diet with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshipped him, on account of his words, and gifts given to him, he called for Ziba, and told him, that he had given the youth his father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly, David brought him to his table every day ; and bestowed upon the youth Ziba and his sons, who were in number fifteen, and his servants, who were in number twenty. When the king had made these appointments and

Ziba had worshipped him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, he went his way; so that this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dined at the king's table, and had the same care, that a son could claim, taken of him. He also had himself a son, whom he named *Micah*.

CHAP. VI.

How the war was waged against the Ammonites, and happily concluded.

§ 1. THESE were the honours, that such as were left of Saul's and Jonathan's lineage received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David's: and when his son had succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him: and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to himself which he had showed to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in evil part, and not as David's kind dispositions gave reason to take it, and they excited the king to resent it; and said, that David had sent men to spy out the country, and what strength it had, under the pretence of humanity and kindness. They farther advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him, and so fall into an inconsolable calamity. Accordingly, Nahash's [son,] the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spake what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused the ambassadors after a very harsh manner; for he shaved the one half of their beards, and cut one half of their garments, and sent his answer not in words but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war with the Ammonites, and would avenge this wicked treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that the king's intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were liable to be punished for the same, made preparation for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavoured to prevail with him to assist them for that pay, and Shobach. Now these kings had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country called *Maacah*, and a fourth king, by name *Ishtob*; which last had twelve thousand armed men.

2. But David was under no consternation at this confede-

racy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites ; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the injurious treatment he had met with, he immediately sent Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army, who pitched his camp by Rabbath, the metropolis of the Ammonites ; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies ; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites at the gates over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and chose out the most hardy part of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abishai, and bid him set them in opposition to the Ammonites ; and said to him, that “ in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about and assist him : ” and he said, that “ he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the like distress from the Ammonites. ” So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously, and with alacrity, which would teach them to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully ; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, but compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight ; which when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they staid no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. So Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned with great glory to Jerusalem to the king.

3. This defeat did not still induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to own those that were superior to them to be so, and be still, but they sent to Chalanan, the king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. Now, when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had again gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself, with all his army ; and when he met them, he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their footmen, and seven thousand of their horsemen. He also wounded Shobach, the general of Chalanan's forces, who died of that stroke ; but the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle,

delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents, who at winter time returned to Jerusalem. But at the beginning of the spring, he sent Joab, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites, who overran all their country and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis Rabbah, and besieged them therein.

CHAP. VII.

How David fell in love with Bathsheba, and slew her husband Uriah, for which he is reproved by Nathan.

§ 1. BUT David now fell into a very grievous sin, though he were otherwise naturally a righteous and a religious man, and one that firmly observed the laws of our fathers: for, when late in an evening, he took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman washing herself in her own house: she was one of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women; her name was *Bathsheba*. So he was overcome by the woman's beauty, and was not able to restrain his desires, but sent for her, and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived with child, and sent to the king, that he could contrive some way for concealing her sin, (for according to the laws of their fathers, she, who had been guilty of adultery, ought to be put to death.) So the king sent for Joab's armour-bearer from the siege, who was the woman's husband; and his name was *Uriah*; and when he was come, the king inquired of him about the army, and about the siege; and when he had made answer, that all their affairs went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper and gave them to him, and bade him go home to his wife and take his rest with her. *Uriah* did not do so, but slept near the king, with the rest of his armour bearers. When the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home to his house, and to his wife, after so long an absence, which is the natural custom of all men, when they come from a long journey. He replied, that it was not right, while his fellow-soldiers, and the general of the army, slept upon the ground, in the camp, and in an enemy's country, that he should go and take his rest, and solace himself with his wife. So when he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that night, that he might dismiss him the next day to the general. So the king invited *Uriah* to the supper, and after a cunning and dexterous manner, plied him with drink at supper, till he was thereby disordered;

yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's gates, without any inclination to go to his wife. Upon this the king was very angry at him ; and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him that he had offended him ; and he suggested to him the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be discovered that he was himself the author of this his punishment ; for he charged him to set him over against that part of the enemies' army where the attack would be most hazardous, and where he might be deserted, and be in the greatest jeopardy ; for he bid him order his fellow-soldiers to retire out of the fight. When he had written thus to him, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry it to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to them ; and gave him for his partners some of the best soldiers in the army ; and said, that he would also come to their assistance with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall, and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such great pains, and not to be displeased at it, since he was a valiant soldier, and had a great reputation for his valour, both with the king, and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, he gave private orders to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally, they should leave him. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an attack upon the city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might prevent them, and get up into the city, and this at the very place whither Uriah was ordered, so they exposed their best soldiers to be in the force front, and opened their gates suddenly and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence, and ran violently upon them. When those that were with Uriah saw this, they all retreated backward, as Joab had directed them beforehand ; but Uriah, as ashamed to run away and leave his post, sustained the enemy, and receiving the violence of their onset, he slew many of them, being encompassed round, and caught in the midst of them, he was slain, and some other of his companions were slain with him.

2. When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him, that " he did what he could to take a city soon, but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to retire with great loss." And bid them if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, that " Uriah was slain also." When the king had heard

this of the messengers, he took it heinously, and said, that "they did wrong when they assaulted the wall, whereas they ought by undermining, and other stragems of war, to endeavour the taking of the city, especially when they had before their eyes the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs take the tower in Thebes by force, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman; and although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault: that they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemies' wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangerous cases, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other." But when the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him, that Uriah was slain also; whereupon he was pacified. So he bid the messenger go back to Joab, and tell him, that "this misfortune is no other than what is common among mankind; and such is the nature and such the accidents of war, insomuch that sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others, but that he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it hereafter: that they should raise bulwarks, and use machines in besieging the city; and when they had gotten it, to overturn its very foundations, and to destroy all those that are in it." Accordingly the messenger carried the king's message with which he was charged, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when he was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently, and a son was born to him by her.

3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was thereupon angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than they are by justice, he resolved to conceal the threatenings that proceed from God, and made a good natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following. He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case: "there were, said he, two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich, and [the other poor;] the rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and of kine, but the poor man had but one ewe lamb: this he brought

up with his children, and let her eat her food with them, and he had the same natural affection for her which any one might have for a daughter : now upon the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and thence feast his friend, but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took her away from him, and made her ready for food, and thence feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly ; and he denounced to Nathan, that " this man was a wicked man who could dare to do such a thing ; and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also." Upon this Nathan immediately said, that " he was himself the man who ought to suffer those punishments, and that by his own sentence, and that it was he who had perpetrated this great and horrid crime. He also revealed to him, and laid before him the anger of God against him, who had made him king over the army of the Hebrews, and lord of all the nations, and those many and great nations round about him ; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him such wives as he had justly and legally married ; and now this God was despised by him, and affronted by his impiety, when he had married, and now had another man's wife ; and by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him ; that God would inflict punishments upon him on account of those instances of wickedness ; that his own wives should be forced by one of his sons ; and that he should be treacherously supplanted by the same son ; and that although he had perpetrated his wickedness secretly, yet should that punishment which he was to undergo be inflicted publicly upon him ; that moreover, said he, the child which was born to thee of her shall soon die." When the king was troubled at these messages, and sufficiently confounded, and said with tears and sorrow, that he had sinned, (for he was without controversy a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah, God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom : for he said, " that seeing he repented of the things he had done ; he was no longer displeased with him." So Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

4. However God sent a dangerous distemper upon the child that was born to David of the wife Uriah ; at which the king was troubled, and did not take any food for seven days, although his servants almost forced him to take it, but he clothed himself in a black garment, and fell down, and

lay upon the ground in sackcloth, entreating God for the recovery of the child, for he vehemently loved that child's mother. But when on the seventh day, the child was dead, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, as supposing that when he knew it, he would still less admit of food, and other care of himself by reason of his grief at the death of his son, since when the child was only sick, he so greatly afflicted himself, and grieved for him. But when the king perceived that his servants were in disorder, and seemed to be affected, as those are who are very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead; and when he had called one of his servants to him, and discovered that so it was, he arose up and washed himself, and took a white garment, and came into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set supper before him, and thereby greatly surprised his kindred and servants, while he did nothing of this when the child was sick, but did it all when he was dead. Whereupon, having first begged leave to ask him a question, they besought him to tell them the reason of this his conduct: He then called them unskilful people; and instructed them how he had hopes of the recovery of the child while it was alive, and accordingly, did all that was proper for him to do, as thinking by such means to render God propitious to him, but that when the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for grief, which was then to no purpose." When he had said this, they commended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba, his wife, and she conceived, and bare a son; and by the command of Nathan the prophet, called his name *Solomon*.

5. But Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their waters, and depriving them of others means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink; for they depend only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the city, that he might have the honour of the victory. Upon this letter of Joab's, the king accepted of his good-will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came the destruction of Rabbah; and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonite's crown, whose weight was a talent* of gold; and it had in its middle a precious stone called a Sado-

* That a talent of gold was about 7 lbs. weight, see the description of the temples, ch. xiii. Nor could Josephus well estimate it higher, since he here says that David wore it on his head perpetually.

nyx ; which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other vessels in the city, and those both splendid and of great price ; but as for the men, he tormented them,* and then destroyed them : and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.

CHAP VIII.

How Absalom murdered Amnon, who had forced his own sister ; and how he was banished, and afterward recalled by David.

§ 1. WHEN the king was returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befell his house, on the occasion following. He had a daughter, who was yet a virgin, and very handsome, inasmuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women ; her name was Tamar : she had the same mother with Absalom. Now Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and being not able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity, and the custody she was under, was much out of order ; nay, his grief so eat up his body, that he grew lean, and his colour was changed. Now there was one Jonadab, a kinsman and a friend of his, who discovered this his passion, for he was an extraordinary wise man, and of great sagacity of mind. When, therefore, he saw that every morning Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him, and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it ; however, he said, that he guessed that it arose from the passion of love. Amnon, confessed his passion, that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father with himself. So Jonadab suggested to him by what method and contrivance he

* Whether Josephus saw the words of our copies, 2 Sam. xii. 31. and 1 Chron. xx. 3, that David *put* the inhabitants, or least the garrison of Rabbah, and of the other Ammonite cities, which were besieged and took, *under, or cut them with saws, and under, or with harrows of iron, and under, or with axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln* is not here directly expressed. If he saw them, as is most probable he did, he certainly expounded them of tormenting these Ammonites to death, who were none of those seven nations of Canaan, whose wickedness had rendered them incapable of mercy ; otherwise I should be inclinable to think, that the meaning, at least as the words are in Samuel, might only be this, that they were made the lowest slaves, to work in sawing timber or stone, in harrowing the fields, hewing timber, in making and burning bricks, and the like hard services, but without taking away their lives. We never elsewhere, that I remember, meet with such methods of cruelty in putting men to death in all the Bible, or in other ancient history whatsoever : nor do the words in Samuel seem naturally to refer to any such thing.

might obtain his desires ; for he persuaded him to pretend sickness, and bid him, when his father should come to him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him, for if that were done he should be better, and should quickly recover from his distemper. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be sick as Jonadab had suggested. When his father came, and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him. Accordingly, he presently ordered her to be brought to him ; and when she was come, Amnon bid her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he should take them better from her hand [than from any one's else.] So she kneaded the flour in the sight of her brother, and made him cakes, and baked them in a pan, and brought them to him ; but at that time he would not taste them, but gave order to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose himself, free from tumult and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he desired his sister to bring his supper to him into the inner parlour ; which, when the damsel had done, he took hold of her, and endeavoured to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out, and said, “ Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon thyself the utmost confusion. Curb this thy unrighteous and impure lust, from which our house will get nothing but shame and disgrace. She also advised him to speak to his father about this affair, for he would permit him [to marry her.”] This she said, as desirous to avoid her brother's violent passion at present. But he would not yield to her, but inflamed with love, and blinded with the vehemency of his passion, he forced his sister : but as soon as Amnon had satisfied his lust, he hated her immediately, and giving her reproachful words, bid her rise up and be gone. And when she said, that “ this was a more injurious treatment than the former, if now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bid her go away in the day time, and while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witness of her shame,” he commanded his servant to turn her out of his house. Whereupon she was sorely grieved at the injury and violence that had been offered to her, and rent her loose coat (for the virgins of old time, wore such loose coats tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles, that the inner coats might not be seen,) and sprinkled ashes on her head ; and went up the middle of the city, crying out, and lamenting, for the violence that had been offered her. Now Absalom her brother, happened to meet her, and asked

her, what sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight ; and when she had told him what injury had been offered her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet, and to take all patiently, and not to esteem her being corrupted by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off her crying out, and discovering the force offered her to the multitude : and she continued as a widow with her brother Absalom a long time.

2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the actions of Amnon ; but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he was compelled not to afflict him : but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of revenging this crime upon him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shear his own sheep at Baalhazor, which is a city in the portion of Ephraim, he besought his father, as well as his bretheren, to come and feast with him ; but when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdensome to him, Absalom desired he would, however, send his bretheren ; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom charged his own servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

3. when they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his bretheren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father ; but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father they were all slain by Absalom ; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, as for so many of his sons that were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also ; and by this consideration, that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them ; so he neither inquired what was the cause of this slaughter, nor stayed to hear any thing else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done when so very great, and by that greatness so incredible a misfortune was related to him, he rent his clothes, and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay lamenting the loss of all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him that slew them. But Jonadab, the son of his brother Shimeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons, he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion ; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had

offered to Tamar. In the mean time, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them : they were the king's sons who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them : but it was more than he expected to see those his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, there were tears on both sides : they lamenting their brother who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed also ; but Absalom fled to Geshur, to his grand-father by his mother's side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

4. Now David had a design to send to Absalom, not that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab, the captain of his host, that chiefly persuaded him so to do ; for he suborned an ordinary woman, that was stricken in age, to go to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him : “ that two of her sons, in a coarse way, had some difference between them, and that in the progress of that difference, they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other and was dead, and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favour to save this her son from her kindred, who was very zealous to have him that had slain his brother put to death, that so she might not be farther deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him ; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for it, he would do her a great favour, because the kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by any thing else than by fear of him.” And when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him ; “ I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my old age, and preventing the loss of my only remaining child : but in order to assure me of this thy kindness, be first reconciled to thine own son, and cease to be angry with him : for how shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed this favour upon me while thou thyself continuest after the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son ; for it is a foolish thing to add wilfully another to thy dead son, while the death of the other was brought about without any consent.” And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation derived from Joab, and was of his contrivance ; and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in reality, he called for Joab, and told him, he had obtained what he requested according to his own mind ; and he bid him bring Ab-

salom back, for he was not now displeas'd, but had already ceas'd to be angry with him. So Joab bow'd himself down to the king, and took his words kindly, and went immediately to Geslur, and took Absalom with him, and came to Jerusalem.

5. However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, as he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet in such a disposition as to think fit at present to see him. Accordingly, upon the father's command, he avoid'd coming into his presence, and contented himself with the respects paid him by his own family only. Now, his beauty was not impaired, either by the grief he had been under, or by the want of such care as was proper to be taken of a king's son, for he still surpass'd and excell'd all men in the tallness of his body, and was more eminent [in a fine appearance] than those that dieted the most luxuriously: and, indeed, such was the thickness of the hair of his head, that it was with difficulty that he was polled every eight days and his * hair weigh'd two hundred shekels, which are five pounds. However, he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, and became the father of three sons, and one daughter; which daughter was of very great beauty, and which Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took to wife afterward, and had by her a son named *Abijah*. But Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him; and to beseech him to give him leave to come to him to see him, and speak with him. But when Joab neglect'd so to do, he sent some of his own servants, and set fire to the field adjoining to him; which, when Joab understood, he came to Absalom, and accus'd him of what he had done; and asked him the reason why he did so? to which Absalom replied, that "I have found out this stratagem that might bring thee to us, while thou hast taken no care to perform the injunction I laid upon thee, which was this, to reconcile my father to me; and I really beg it of thee, now thou art here, to pacify my father as to me, since I esteem my coming hither to be more grievous than my banishment, while my father's wrath against me continues." Hereby Joab was persuad'd, and pitied the distress that Absalom

* Of this weight of Absalom's hair, how in 20 or thirty years it might well amount to 200 shekels, or to somewhat above 6 lbs. avoirdupois, see the literal accomplishment of Prophecies, p. 77, 78. But a late very judicious author thinks that the LXXII, meant not its *weight*, but its *value* was 200 shekels. Dr. Wall's critical notes on the Old Testament, upon 2 Sam. xiv. 26. It does not appear what was Josephus's opinion he sets the text down honestly as he found it in his copies; only he thought, that *at the end of days*, when Absalom polled or weigh'd his hair, was *once a week*.

was in, and became an intercessor with the king for him. And when he had discoursed with his father, he soon brought him to that amicable disposition towards Absalom, that he presently sent for him to come to him: and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and had begged for the forgiveness of his offences, the king raised him up, and promised him to forget what he had formerly done.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the insurrection of Absalom against David; and concerning Ahithophel and Hushai; and concerning Ziha and Shimei: and how Ahithophel hanged himself.

§ 1. Now Absalom, upon this his success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had moreover fifty armour-bearers that were about him, and he came early every day to the king's palace, and spake what was agreeable to such as came for justice, and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counsellors about the king, or perhaps because the judges mistook in that unjust sentence they gave; whereby he gained the good will of them all. He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself so popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good will of the people secured to him; but when four years* had passed since his father's reconciliation to him, he came to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron to pay a sacrifice to God, because he vowed it to him when he fled out of the country. So when David had granted his request, he went thither, and great multitudes came running together to him, for he had sent to a great number so to do.

2. Among them came Ahithophel the Gilonite, a counsellor of David's, and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. So he was appointed king by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought

* This is one of the best corrections that Josephus's copy affords us of a text that in our ordinary copies is grossly corrupted. They say, that this rebellion of Absalom was 40 years after what went before, (of his reconciliation to his father,) whereas the series of the history shows it could not be more than *four* years after it, as here in Josephus; whose number is directly confirmed by that copy of the Septuagint version whence the Armenian translation was made, which gives us the same small number of four years.

to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from his son, he was affrighted at this his impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how his offence had been lately forgiven him, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises; first, to deprive him of that kingdom which was given him of God; and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He, therefore, resolved to fly to the parts beyond Jordan: so he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them all that he had heard of his son's madness. He committed himself to God, to judge between them about all their actions; and left the care of his royal palace to his ten concubines, and went away from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the multitude, who went hastily away with him, and particularly by those six hundred armed men, who had been with him from his first flight in the days of Saul: but he persuaded Abiathar, and Zadok, the high-priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, who were with the ark, to stay behind, as hoping that God would deliver him without its removal; but he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on: and he had their sons, Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers in all things; but Ittai, the Gittite, went out with him whether David would let him or not, for he would have persuaded him to stay, and on that account he appeared the more friendly to him. But as he was ascending the mount of Olives bare-footed, and all his company were in tears, it was told him that Ahithophel was with Absalom, and was of his side. This hearing augmented his grief; and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahithophel, for he was afraid that he should persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel, for he was a prudent man, and very sharp in seeing what was advantageous. When David was gotten upon the top of the mountain, he took a view of the city; and prayed to God with abundance of tears, as having already lost his kingdom: and here it was that a faithful friend of his, whose name was Hushai, met him. When David saw him with his clothes rent, and having ashes all over his head, and in lamentation for the great change of affairs, he comforted him, and exhorted him to leave off grieving; nay, at length he besought him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secretest counsels of his mind, and so to contradict the counsels of Ahithophel, for that he could not do him so much good by being with him, as he might by being with Absalom. So he was prevailed on

by David, and left him, and came to Jerusalem, whither Absalom himself came also a little while afterward.

3. When David was gone a little farther, there met him Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, (whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given him, as the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul,) with a couple of asses loaden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him, "Where he had left Mephibosheth?" he said, "He had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusions, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon them." At this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth, for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other: at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

4. When David was at Bahurim, a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was *Shimei*, and threw stones at him, and gave him reproachful words; and, as his friends stood about the king, and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him, "A bloody man, and the author of all sorts of mischief." He bid him also "go out of the land, as an impure and accursed wretch; and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injuries he had done to his master [Saul,] and this by the means of his own son." Now, when they were all provoked against him, and angry at him, and particularly Abishai, who had a mind to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger. "Let us not, said he, bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard or concern for this dog that raves at me; I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner: nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some commiseration upon us, if it be his will we shall overcome them." So he went on his way without troubling himself with Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abusive language plentifully: but when David was come to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves, for they were weary.

5. But when Absalom, and Ahithophel, his counsellor, were come to Jerusalem, with all the people, David's friend [Hushai] came to them; and when he had worshipped Absalom, he withal wished that his kingdom might last a long time,

and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, "How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, "We ought to follow God, and the multitude of the people; while these therefore, my lord and master, are with thee, it is fit that I should follow them, for thou hast received the kingdom from God. I will therefore, if thou believest me to be thy friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to thee, which thou knowest I have showed to thy father: nor is there any reason to be in the least dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred into another, but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it [after his father.]" This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahithophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do. He persuaded him to go in unto his father's concubines; for he said, that "by this action the people would believe that thy difference with thy father is irreconcilable, and will thence fight with great alacrity against thy father, for hitherto they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again." Accordingly, Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent upon the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now, this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied, and signified to him, that his son would raise up in rebellion against him.

6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to by Ahithophel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now, Ahithophel only asked him to let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety; and he said, that "then the kingdom would be firm to him when David was dead, [but not otherwise.]" Absalom was pleased with this advice; and called for Hushai, David's friend, (for so did he style him,) and informing him of the opinion of Ahithophel, he asked father what was his opinion concerning that matter? Now, he was sensible, that if Ahithophel's counsel was followed, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, "thou art not unacquainted, O king, with the valour of thy father, and of those that are now with him: that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory, though probably he now abides

in the camp, for he is very skilful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies, yet will he leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock; so that when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king's being near them, and in the mean time your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahithophel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come to fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and, be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And if thy father shall shut himself up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city by machines of war, and by undermining it." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahithophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom before the other's: however, it was no other than God* who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

7. So Hushai made haste to the high-priests, Zadok and Abiathar and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore bid them send to David, and tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsels that had been taken;

* This reflection of Josephus's, that God brought to nought the dangerous counsel of Ahithophel, and directly *infatuated* wicked Absalom to reject it, (which *infatuation* is what the scripture styles the judicial *hardening the hearts, and blinding the eyes* of men, who, by their former voluntary wickedness, have justly deserved to be destroyed, and are thereby brought to destruction,) is a very just one, and in him not unfrequent. Nor does Josephus ever puzzle himself, or perplex his readers, with subtle hypotheses as to the *manner* of such judicial infatuations by God, while the *justice* of them is generally so obvious. That peculiar *manner* of the divine operations, or permissions, or the *means* God makes use of in such cases, is often impenetrable by us. *Secret things belong to the Lord our God; but those things that are revealed belongs to us, and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law*, Deut. xxix. 29. Nor have all the subtilities of the moderns, so far as I see, given any considerable light in this, and many other the like points of difficulty relating either to divine or human operations. See also the notes on Antiq. B. v. ch. i. § 2. vol. i. and Antiq. B. ix. ch. iv. § 3. vol. ii.

and to desire him farther to pass quickly over Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him and so prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now the high-priests had their sons concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid-servant, whom they could trust, to them, to carry the news of Absalom's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. So they made no excuse nor delay, but taking along with them their father's injunctions, became pious and faithful ministers, and judging that quickness and suddenness was the best mark of faithful service, they made haste to meet with David: but certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some to take them, but when the sons of the high-priests perceived this, they went out of the road, and betook themselves to a certain village: that village was called *Bahurim*; there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and afford them security. Accordingly, she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them; and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them? she did not deny that she had seen them, for that they stayed with her some time, but she said they then went their ways: and she foretold, that, however, if they would follow them directly, they would catch them: but when, after a long pursuit, they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw those men were returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and hid them go on their journey. Accordingly, they used great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came to David, and informed him accurately of all the counsels of Absalom. So he commanded those that were with him to pass over Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

8. But Ahithophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass and rode away to his own country Gilon; and calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again: so he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had discoursed thus

to them he went into the inmost room of his house and hanged himself; and this was the death of Ahithophel, who was self-condemned: and when his relations had taken him down from the halter, they took care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have already said, and came to Mahanaim, a very fine and very strong city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both out of the shame they had that he should be forced to flee away [from Jerusalem,] and out of the respect they bare him while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai, the Gileadite, and Siphar, the ruler among the Ammonites, and Machir, the principal man of Gilead; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted no beds, nor blankets for them, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; nay, they brought them a great many cattle for slaughter, and afforded them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with plenty of other necessaries.

CHAP. X.

How when Absalom was beaten, he was caught in a tree by his hair, and was slain.

§ 1. AND this was the state of David and his followers. But Absalom got together a vast army of the Hebrews to oppose his father, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and sat down not far off Mahanaim, in the country of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his host, instead of Joab his kinsman: his father was Ithra, and his mother Abigail: now she and Zeruah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to tarry till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts; the one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third part to Ittai, David's companion, and friend, by one that came from the city Gath. And when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him; and this refusal of theirs was founded upon very wise actions: "For, said they, if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will natu-

rally suppose that he hath another army with him." So David was pleased with their advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim. And as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show [all possible] alacrity and fidelity; and to bear in mind what advantages they had received from him, which though they had not been very great, yet had they not been quite inconsiderable; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befall himself if he should be killed. And thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them victory therein.

2. Then did Joab put his army in battle-array, over against the enemy in the great plain, where he had a wood behind him. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. Upon the joining of the battle, both sides showed great actions with their hands, and their boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and using their utmost alacrity, that David might recover his kingdom, and the other being no way deficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father for his imprudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous, were solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab, and with the other commanders, because that would be the greatest disgrace to them, while David's soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many ten thousands [as the enemy had with them.] Now David's men were conquerors, as superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through the forests and valleys, some they took prisoners, and many they slew, and more in the flight than in the battle, for there fell about twenty thousand that day: but all David's men ran violently upon Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and tallness. He was himself also afraid lest his enemies should seize on him; so he got upon the king's mule, and fled; but as he was carried with violence, and noise, and a great motion, as being himself light, he entangled his hair greatly in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there he hung after a surprising manner; and as for the beast, it went on farther, and that swiftly, as if his master had been still upon his back, but he, hanging by the hair upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. Now when one of David's soldiers saw this he informed Joab of it; and when the general said, that "if he had shot and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels." He replied, "I would not have killed my master's son if thou wouldest have given me a thousand shekels,

especially when he desired that the young man might be spared, in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hang; whereupon he shot him to the heart, and slew him, and Joab's armour-bearers stood round about the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid an heap of stones upon him till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and the bigness of a grave. Then Joab sounded a retreat, and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy's army, in order to spare their countrymen,

3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a stone marble pillar, in the King's Dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named *Absalom's Hand*, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar; for he had three sons, and one daughter, named *Tamar*, as we said before, who, when she was married to David's grandson, Rehoboam, bare a son, Abijah by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom; but of these we shall speak in a part of our history which will be more proper. After the death of Absalom, they returned every one to their own homes respectively.

4. But now Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok the high-priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news, that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request; but said to him, "wilt thou that hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to desist. He then called Cushi, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates,* and waiting to see when somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw

* The reader need not be surprised at this account of David's throne, both here, and 2 Sam. xvii. 23, that it was *between two gates* or *portals*, gates being in cities, as well as at the temple, large open places, with a portal at the entrance, and another at the exit, between which, judicial causes were heard, and public consultations taken, and as it is well known from several places in scripture, Chron. xxxi. 2. Psalm ix. 14. cxxvii. 5. Prov. i. 21. viii. 3, 34. xxxi. 23, and often elsewhere.

somebody coming to him, who said, he was a good messenger. A little while after he informed him, that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said, that he was also a good messenger: but when the watchman saw Ahimaaz, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high-priest, who came running: so David was very glad, and said, "He was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear."

5. While the king was saying thus, Ahimaaz appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said, "He brought him the good news of victory and dominion." And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said, that "he came away on the sudden as soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory." But when Cushai was come, and had worshipped him, and informed him of the victory, he asked him about his son; who replied, "May the like misfortune befall thine enemies as hath befallen Absalom." That word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one. But David went up to the highest part of the city,* and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair of] his head, and tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son, I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!" for he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for his son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors, but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and comforted him, and said, "O my lord the king, thou art not aware that thou layest a blot on thyself by what thou now doest, for thou seemest to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee, nay, to hate thyself and thy family, and to love those that are thy

* Since David was now in Mahanaim, and in the open place of that city-gate, which seems still to have been built the highest of any part of the wall, and since our other copies say he *went up to the chamber over the gate*, 2 Sam. xvii. 23, I think we ought to correct our present reading in Josephus, and for *city*, should read *gate*, i. e. instead of the highest part of the *city*, should say the highest part of the *gate*. Accordingly, we find David presently in Josephus, as well as in our other copies, 2 Sam. xix. 8, sitting as before in the *gate* of the *city*.

bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain ; for had Absalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, had miserably perished, while our enemies had not wept for us, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes ; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine own son, had proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad and be seen by thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight ; for I myself will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus ; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow ; and brought him to the consideration of his affairs : so David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gate : whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him : and this was the present state of David's affairs.

CHAP. XI.

How David, when he had recovered his kingdom, was reconciled to Shimei, and to Ziba ; and showed a great affection to Barzillai ; and how, upon the rise of a sedition, he made Amasa captain of his host, in order to pursue Sheba ; which Amasa was slain by Joab.

§ 1 Now those Hebrews that had been with Absalom, and had retired out of the battle, when they were all returned home, sent messengers to every city, to put them in mind of what benefits David had bestowed upon them, and of that liberty which he had procured them by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and committed it to another governor, which other governor whom they had set up was already dead, they did not now beseech David to leave off his anger at them, and to become friends with them, and, as he used to do, to resume the care of their affairs, and take the kingdom again. This was often told to David. And this, notwithstanding, David sent to Zadok and Abiathar the high-priests, that they should speak to the rulers of the tribe of Judah after the manner following ; that " it would be a re-

proach on them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king before their tribe, and this, said he, while you are a-kin to him, and of the same common blood." He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa, the captain of their forces, "That whereas he was his sister's son, he had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom to David: that he might expect from him not only a reconciliation, for that was already granted, but that supreme command of the army also, which Absalom had bestowed on him." accordingly, the high-priests, when they had discoursed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Amasa to undertake the care of his affairs. So he persuaded that tribe to send immediately ambassadors to him, to beseech him to return to his own kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the like persuasion of Amasa.

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men; which he brought with him out of the tribe of Benjamin, and Ziba, the freed-man of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge [of boats] over the river, that the king, and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimei also came upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him "to forgive him what he had offended, and not to be too bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example of severity under his new authority, but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty; and had taken care to come first of all to him." While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Abishai, Jobab's brother, said, "And shall not this man die for this that he hath cursed that king whom God hath appointed to reign over us?" But David turned himself to him, and said, "Will you never leave off, ye sons of Zeruah? Do not you, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for I would not have you ignorant, that I this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit to all offenders their punishments, and not to animadvert on any one that has sinned. Be thou, therefore, said he, O Shimei, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." So he worshipped him, and went on before him.

3. Mephibosheth also, Saul's grand-son, met David, clothed in a sordid garment, and having his hair thick and neglected; for after David was fled away, he was in such grief, that he

had not polled his head, nor had he washed his clothes, as dooming himself to undergo such hardships upon occasion of the change of the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king, by Ziba his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshipped him, the king began to ask him, "Why he did not go out of Jerusalem with him, and accompany him during his flight?" He replied, that "this piece of injustice was owing to Ziba, because, when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he took no care of it, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave; and indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I had not deserted thee, for I could then have made use of them in my flight: but this is not all the injury Ziba has done me, as to my duty to thee, my lord and master, but he hath calumniated me besides, and told lies about me of his own invention; but I know thy mind will not admit of such calumnies, but is righteously disposed, and a lover of truth, which it is also the will of God should prevail: for when thou wast in the greatest danger of suffering by my grand-father, and when, on that account, our whole family might justly have been destroyed, thou wast moderate, and merciful; and didst then especially forget all those injuries, when, if thou hadst remembered them, thou hadst the power of punishing us for them; but thou hast judged me to be thy friend, and hast set me every day at thine own table; nor have I wanted any thing which one of thine own kinsmen, of greatest esteem with thee could have expected." When he had said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth,* nor to condemn Ziba, as having belied his master; but said to him, that as he had [before] granted all his estate to Ziba, because he did not come along with him, so he [now] promised to forgive him, and ordered that the one half of his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take all; it suffices me that thou hast recovered thy kingdom."

4. But David desired Barzillai, the Gileadite, that great and good man, and one that had made a plentiful provision for him at Mahanaim, and had conducted him as far as Jor-

* By David's disposal of half Mephibosheth's estate to Ziba, one would imagine that he was a good deal dissatisfied and doubtful whether Mephibosheth's story were entirely true or not; nor does David now invite him to diet with him, as he did before, but only forgives him, if he had been at all guilty. Nor is this odd way of mourning that Mephibosheth made use of here, and 2 Sam. xix. 24, wholly free from suspicion of hypocrisy. If Ziba neglected or refused to bring Mephibosheth an ass of his own, on which he might ride to David, it is hard to suppose that so great a man as he was, should not be able to procure some other beast for the same purpose.

dan, to accompany him to Jerusalem, for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of respect; would take care of him and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home, that he entreated him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said, that "his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court,] since he was fourscore years old, and was, therefore, making provision for his death and burial; so he desired him to gratify him in this request, and dismiss him; for that he had no relish for his meat or his drink, by reason of his age; and that his ears were too much shut up to hear the sound of pipes or the melody of other musical instruments, such as all those that live with kings delight in." When he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss thee, but thou shalt grant me thy son Chimham, and upon him will I bestow all sorts of good things." So Barzillai left his son with him, and worshipped the king, and wished him a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs according to his own mind, and then returned home: but David came to Gilgal, having about him half the people [of Israel,] and the [whole] tribe of Judah.

5. Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal to him with a great multitude, and complained of the tribe of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner, whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention, to have given him the meeting. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired him not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; for, said they, "We are David's kinsmen, and on that account, we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and so came first to him, yet had they not, by their early coming, received any gifts from him, which might give them who came last any uneasiness." When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not quiet, but said farther, "O brethren, we cannot but wonder at you when you call the king your kinsman alone, whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common, ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason, the whole people have eleven* parts in him, and you but one part; we also are elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner."

* I clearly prefer Josephus's reading here, when it supposes eleven tribes, including Benjamin, to be on one side, and the tribe of Judah alone on the other, since Benjamin, in general, had been still fonder of the house of Saul, and less firm to David hitherto than any of the rest, and so cannot be supposed to be joined with Judah at this time to make it double, especially when the following rebellion was headed by a Benjamite. See § 6, and 2 Sam. xx. 2, 4.

6. While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man, who took a pleasure in seditious practices, (his name was *Sheba*, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin,) stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spake thus to them: "We have no parts in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And when he had used those words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king; and they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone staid with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house; and ordered those that had the care of them, to make a plentiful provision for them, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa for the captain of his forces, and gave him the same high office which Joab before had; and commanded him to gather together, out of the tribe of Judah, as great an army as he could, and come to him within three days, that he might deliver to him his entire army, and might send him to fight against [*Sheba*] the son of Bichri. Now while Amasa was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned, on the third day the king said to Joab, "it is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of *Sheba*, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than did Absalom himself; do not thou, therefore, wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that [old] body of six hundred men, and thy brother Abishai with thee, and pursue after our enemy, and endeavour to fight him wheresoever thou canst overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great labour and pains before we take him."

7. So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those six hundred men, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow him, he marched with great speed against *Sheba*; and when he was come to Gibeon, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was girded with a sword and his breast-plate on; and when Amasa came near him to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out as it were of its own accord; so he took it up from the ground, and while he approached Amasa, who was then near him as though he would kiss him, he took hold of Amasa's beard with his other hand, and he smote him in his belly when he did not foresee it, and slew him. This impious and

altogether profane action, Joab did to a good young man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, and this out of jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be in equal dignity with himself about the king: and for the same cause it was that he killed Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretence, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa, there was no such covering for it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army, that Amasa was justly slain, and deservedly punished. But, said he, if you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai Joab's brother; but because the body lay on the road and all the multitude, came running to it, and, as is usual with the multitude, stood wondering a great while at it, he that guarded it removed it thence and carried it to a certain place that was very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him, that he was in a strong city called *Abel-beth-maachah*; hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

8. Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing her native city lying at the last extremity, ascending upon the wall, and by means of the armed men, called for Joab; and when he came to her, she began to say, that "God ordained kings and generals of armies, that they might cut off the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce an universal peace among them: but thou art endeavouring to overthrow and depopulate a metropolis of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of no offence." But he replied, "God continue to be merciful unto me: I am disposed to avoid killing any one of the people, much less would I destroy such a city as this; and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who has rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place." Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for that he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him presently. So she went down to the citizens, and said to them, "Will you be so wicked as to perish miserably.

with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knows who he is? and will you have him for your king instead of David, who hath been so great a benefactor to you, and oppose your city alone to such a mighty and strong army?" So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab's army. When this was done, the king's general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. And when he was come to Jerusalem he was again appointed to be general of all the people. The king also constituted Benaiah captain of the guards, and of the six hundred men. He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabathes and Achilais over the records. He made Sheva the scribe; and appointed Zadok and Abiathar the high-priests.

CHAP. XII.

How the Hebrews were delivered from a famine, when the Gibeonites had caused punishment to be inflicted for those of them that had been slain: as also what great actions were performed against the Philistines by David, and the men of valour about him.

§ 1. AFTER this, when the country was greatly afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for that distemper. And when the prophets answered, that "God would have the Gibeonites avenged, whom Saul the king was so wicked as to betray to slaughter, and had not observed the oath which Joshua the general and the senate had sworn to them. If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain, as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude from their miseries." As soon, therefore, as the king understood that this it was which God sought he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them what it was they would have? And when they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them to be punished, he delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased: upon which God began to send rain, and to recover the earth to bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the foregoing drought, so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. A little afterward, the king

made war against the Philistines; and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone, as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired down, he was seen by one of the enemy; his name was *Ach-moκ*, the son of Araph; he was of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breast plate of chain-work, and a sword. He turned back, and ran violently to slay [David,] their enemies' king, for he was quite tired out with labour; but Abishai, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, and protected the king with his shield, as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the multitude was very uneasy at these dangers of the king, and that he was very near to be slain: and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness; and thereby deprive the people of the benefits they now enjoyed by his means, and of those that they might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time among them.

2. When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city Gazara, he sent an army against them, when Sibbechai the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation, for he slew many of those that bragged they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on that account, and thereby was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. After which defeat, the Philistines made war again; and when David had sent an army against them, Nephan his kinsman, fought in a single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the fight. Now a little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against them by David out of his army, was Jonathan the son of Shimei, who fought this man in a single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This man also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight, the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

3. And now David, being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs*

* This section is a very remarkable one, and shows, that, in the opinion of Josephus, David composed the book of Psalms, not at several

and hymns to God of several sorts of metre ; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters : he also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the *Sabbath day*, and on the other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus : the viol was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow ; the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played upon by the fingers ; the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments, that the reader may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

4. Now all the men that were about David, were men of courage. Those that were most illustrious and famous of

times before, as their present inscriptions frequently imply, but generally at the latter end of his life, or after his wars were over. Nor does Josephus, nor the authors of the known books of the Old and New Testament, nor the Apostolical Constitutions, seem to have ascribed any of them to any other author than to David himself. See Essay on the Old Test. p. 174, 175. Of these metres of the Psalms, see the note on Antiq. B. ii. ch. xvi. § 4. vol. i. However, we must observe here that as Josephus says, Antiq. B. ii. ch. xvi. § 4. vol. i. that the song at the Red Sea, Exod. xv. 1—21, was composed by Moses in the *hexameter tune*, or *metre*, as also Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. § 44. vol. i. that the song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 1—43, was an *hexameter poem*, so does he say, that the *Psalms of David* were of various kinds of *metre*, and particularly, that they contained *trimeters* and *pentameters*, Antiq. B. vii. ch. xii. § 2. vol. ii. all which implies, that he thought these Hebrew poems might be best described to the Greeks and Romans under those names and characters of *hexameters*, *trimeters*, and *pentameters*. Now, it appears that the instruments of music that were originally used, by the command of king David and Solomon, and were carried to Babylon at the captivity of the two tribes, were brought back after that captivity ; as also, that the singers and musicians, who outlived that captivity, came back with those instruments, Ezra ii. 41. vii. 24. Neh. vii. 44. Antiq. B. xi. ch. iii. § 8, and ch. iv. § 2. vol. ii. and that this music, and these instruments at the temple, could not but be well known to Josephus, a priest belonging to that temple : who accordingly gives us a short description of three of the instruments, Antiq. B. vii. ch. xii. § 3. vol. ii. and gives us a distinct account, that such psalms and hymns were sung in his days, at the temple, Antiq. B. xx. ch. 9, § 8. vol. iv. ; so that Josephus's authority is beyond exception in these matters. Nor can any hypotheses of the moderns, that do not agree with Josephus's character, be justly supposed the true metre of the ancient Hebrews ; nor indeed is there, I think, any other original authority now extant, here to relating, to be opposed to these testimonies before us. That the ancient music of the Hebrews was very complete also, and had in it great variety of tunes, is evident by the number of their musical instruments, and by the testimony of another most authentic witness, Jesus the son of Sirach, Eccles. 1. 18, who says, that at the temple in his days, *The singers sang praises with their voice, with great variety of sounds, was there made sweet melody.*

them for their actions were thirty-eight ; of five of whom I will only relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also ; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Jessai, the son of Achimaas, who frequently leaped upon the troops of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew nine hundred of them. After him was Eleazer, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arasam. This man, when once the Israelites were under a consternation at the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them, till the sword clung to his hand, by the blood he had shed, and until the Israelites, seeing the Philistines retire by his means, came down from the mountains, and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising and a famous victory, while Eleazer slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Sheba, the son of Ilus. Now this man, when in the wars against the Philistines they pitched their camp at a place called *Lebi*, and when the Hebrews were again afraid of their army, and did not stay, he stood still alone, as an army, and a body of men, and some of them he overthrew, and some who were not able to abide his strength and force he pursued. These are the works of the hands and of fighting which these three performed. Now at the time when the king was once at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came upon him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as we have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemies' camp lay in the valley that extends to the city of Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We have excellent water in my own city, especially that which is in the pit, near the gate," wondering if any one would bring him some of it to drink ; but he said that "he would rather have it than a great deal of money." When these three men heard what he said, they ran away immediately, and burst through the midst of their enemies' camp, and came to Bethlehem ; and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemies' camp to the king, insomuch that the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and alacrity, that they were quiet, and did nothing against them, as if they despised their small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, saying, that "it was brought by the danger and the blood of men, and that it was not proper on that account to drink it." But he poured it out to God and gave him thanks for

the salvation of the men. Next to these was Abishai, Joab's brother; for he in one day slew six hundred. The fifth of these was Benaiah, by lineage a priest, for being challenged by [two] eminent men in the country of Moab, he overcame them by his valour. Moreover, there was a man, by nation an Egyptian, who was of a vast bulk, and challenged him, yet did he, when he was unarmed, kill him with his own spear, which he threw at him, for he caught him by force, and took away his weapons, while he was alive, and fighting, and slew him with his own weapon. One may also add this to the forementioned actions of the same man, either as the principal of them in alacrity, or as resembling the rest. When God sent a snow, there was a lion who slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow, it was evident he would perish, being inclosed with the snow; so when he saw no way to get out and save himself, he roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, he went towards him, and coming at the noise he made, he went down into the mouth of the pit, and smote him, as he struggled, with a stake that lay there, and immediately slew him. The other thirty-three were like these in valour also.

CHAP. XIII.

That when David had numberèd the people, they were punished; and how the divine compassion restrained that punishment.

§ 1. Now king David was desirous to know how many ten thousands there were of the people, but forgot* the com.

* The words of God by Moses, Exod. xxx. 12, sufficiently justify the reason here given by Josephus for the great plague mentioned in this chapter, *When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them, that there be no plague amongst them when thou numberest them.* Nor indeed could David's or the Sanhedrim's neglect of executing this law, at this numeration, excuse the people, who ought still to have brought their bounden oblation of half a shekel a-piece with them, when they came to be numbered. The great reason why nations are so constanly punished by and with their wicked kings and governors, is this, that they almost continually comply with them in their neglect of, or disobedience to, their divine laws, and suffer those divine laws to go into disuse or contempt, in order to please those wicked kings and governors; and that they submit to several wicked political laws and commands of those kings and governors, instead of the righteous laws of God, which all mankind ought ever to obey, let their kings and governors say what they pleased to the contrary; this preference of human before divine laws, seeming to me the principal character of idolatrous or anti-christian nations. Accordingly, Josephus well observes, Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. § 17. vol. i. that it was the duty of the people of Israel to take

mands of Moses, who told them beforehand, that if the multitude were numbered, they should pay half a shekel to God for every head. Accordingly, the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude: but when he said there was no necessity for such a numeration, he was not persuaded [to counternand it,] but he enjoined him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews immediately. So Joab took with him the heads of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israelites, and took notice how numerous the multitude were, and returned to Jerusalem to the king, after nine months and twenty days; and he gave in to the king the number of the people, without the tribe of Benjamin, for he had not yet numbered that tribe, no more than the tribe of Levi, for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now, the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men who were able to bear arms and go to war, but the tribe of Judah, by itself, was four hundred thousand men.

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to him, and forgive his sin. But God sent Nathan the prophet to him, to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose what he liked best; "whether he would have famine come upon the country for seven years? or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or whether God should send a pestilence and a distemper upon the Hebrews for three days?" But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said, that he must of necessity make this choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, that he might answer what he had chosen to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of others: that in case he should choose to be overcome [by his enemies] for

care that their kings, when they should have them, did not exceed their proper limits of power, and prove ungovernable by the laws of God which would certainly be a most pernicious thing to their divine settlement. Nor do I think that negligence peculiar to the Jews: those nations which are called *Christians*, are sometimes indeed very solicitous to restrain their kings and governors from breaking the human laws of their several kingdoms, but without the like care for restraining them from breaking the laws of God. *Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto men more than to God, judge ye, Acts iv. 19. We ought to obey God rather than men, v. 29.*

three months, he would appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong holds, and that, therefore, he feared nothing therefrom: so he chose that affliction which is common to kings, and to their subjects, and in which the fear was equal on all sides; and said this beforehand, that "it was much better to fall into the hands of God, than into those of his enemies."

3. When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and a mortality upon the Hebrews; nor did they die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now, the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly, some giving up the ghost immediately, with very great pains, and bitter grief, and some were worn away by their distempers, and had nothing remaining to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell, were entirely macerated: some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with a sudden darkness: some there were who, as they were burying a relation fell down dead,* without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now there perished of this disease, which began with the morning, and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. Nay, the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgment upon it. But David had put on sackcloth, and lay upon the ground, entreating God, and begging that the distemper might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby unto Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that "he might justly be punished, who was their shepherd, but that the sheeep ought to be preserved, as not having sinned at all; and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him, and upon all his family, but spare the people."

4. When God heard this supplication, he caused the pestilence to cease; and sent Gad the prophet to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not neglect

* Whence Josephus took these distinct and melancholy accounts of the particular symptoms, and most miserable methods of dying in this terrible pestilence, we cannot now tell, our other copies affording us no such accounts.

his duty, but made haste to the place appointed him. Now Araunah was threshing wheat; and when he saw the king, and all his servants coming to him, he ran before, and came to him and worshipped him. He was by his lineage a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David's; and for that cause it was, that when he overthrew the city, he did him no harm, as we informed the reader a little before. Now Araunah inquired, "Wherefore is my lord come to his servant?" He answered, "To buy of him the threshing floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice." He replied that "he freely gave him both the threshing floor, and the ploughs, and the oxen for a burnt-offering; and he besought God graciously to accept his sacrifice." But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his good will, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for that it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said, he would do as he pleased, he bought the threshing floor of him for fifty shekels. And when he had built an altar, he performed divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it happened that Abraham* came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place: and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden, standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as we have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God there: which words he uttered very appositely to what was to be done afterward; for God sent the prophet to him, and told him, that there should his son build him an altar, that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

* What Josephus adds here is very remarkable, that this Mount Moriah was not only the very place where Abraham offered up Isaac long ago, but that God foretold to David by a prophet, that here his son should build him a temple, which is not directly in any of our other copies, though very agreeable to what is in them, particularly in 1 Chron. xxi. 26, 28, and xxii. 1, to which places I refer the reader.

CHAP. XIV.

That David made great preparation for the house of God ; and that upon Adonijah's attempt to gain the kingdom, he appointed Solomon to reign.

§ AFTER the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered, and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand : of these he appointed four-score thousand to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron, and brass, for the work, with many, and those exceeding large, cedar-trees, the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had sent to them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends, that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials, ready for the building of the temple, to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have then to seek them, when he was very young, and, by reason of his age, unskilful in such matters, but might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build a temple to God ; and said, " I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood, and wars ; but he hath foretold, that Solomon, my youngest son, should build him a temple, and should be called by that name : over whom he hath promised to take the like care as a father takes over his son ; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him, and that not only in other respects, but by giving it peace, and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions. which are the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore, says he, thou wast ordained king by God himself, before thou wast born, endeavour to render thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thou also his commands, and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God a temple, which he hath chosen to be built under thy reign ; nor be thou affrighted by the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready before I die : and take notice, that there are already* ten thousand talents

* Of the quantity of gold and silver expended in the building of Solomon's temple, and whence it arose, see the description of the temple, chap. xiii.

of gold, and an hundred thousand talents of silver, collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber, and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many ten thousand stone cutters, and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing farther, do thou add somewhat of thine own. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou wilt be acceptable to God, and have him for thy patron." David also farther exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and to attend to the divine service, when they should be free from all their misfortunes, for that they by this means should enjoy instead of them peace, and an happy settlement, with which blessings God rewards such men as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels; and he assured them, that they ought to have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had got the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the governors, and to his son.

3. David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become old, and benumbed, insomuch, that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes: and when the physicians came together, they agreed to this advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and that this damsel would communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman, of a superior beauty to all other women, (her name was *Abishag*,) who, sleeping with the king, did no more than communicate warmth to him, for he was so old, that he could not know her as a husband knows his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

4. Now the fourth son of David's was a beautiful young man, and tall, and born to him by Haggith his wife. He was named *Adonijah*, and was in his disposition like to Absalom and exalted himself as hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to take the government upon him. He also prepared many chariots, and horses, and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so? Now Adonijah had for his assistants Joab, the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high-priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high-priest, and the prophet Nathan, and *Benaiah*,

who was captain of the guards, and Shimei, David's friend, with all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain that was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab, the captain of the army, and Abiathar, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah, but he had not invited to this feast neither Zadok the high-priest, nor Nathan the prophet, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it, and he advised her to save herself, and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, that "he had indeed sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but that in the mean time, Adonijah had already taken the kingdom." He said, that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and, when she had spoken thus to the king, would confirm what she had said. Accordingly, Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went in to the king, and worshipped him, and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her; and related what a supper Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited, Abiathar the high-priest, and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said, that "all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king." She desired him also to consider, how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her, and her son Solomon.

5. Now as Bathsheba was speaking, the keepers of the king's chambers told him, that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him, whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him or not? for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons, except Solomon; as also that he had invited Joab, the captain of his host, [and Abiathar the high-priest,] who are feasting with applauses, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever; but he hath not invited me, nor Zadok the high-priest, nor Benaiah, the captain of the guards; and it is but fit that all should know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. When Nathan had said thus, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came. And when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son

Solomon shall certainly be king, as I formerly swore, and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also." So Bathsheba worshipped him, and wished him a long life; and the king sent for Zadok the high-priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain called *Gihon*, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. This he charged Zadok the high-priest, and Nathan the prophet, to do; and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and wish aloud, that "Solomon the king may sit upon the royal throne for ever," that so all the people may know that he is ordained king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah had prayed to God to be favourable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city, to the fountain, and anointed him with the oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and wishes, that his kingdom might continue a long time: and when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne. Whereupon all the people betook themselves to make merry, and to celebrate a festival, dancing and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music.

6. Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise they were in disorder; and Joab, the captain of the host, said, "He was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets." And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what should be the matter. Then Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high-priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him, that he was a good messenger, he declared to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of king David: hereupon both Adonijah and all his guests rose hastily from the feast, and every one fled to their own homes. Adonijah also, as afraid of the king for what he had done, became a supplicant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was also told Solomon that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him, that he would not remember the injury he had done, and not inflict

any severe punishment for it. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that "he forgave him this his offence; but said withal, that if he were found out in any attempt for new innovations, that he would be the author of his own punishment." So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplication. And when he was come to the king, and had worshipped him, the king bid him go away to his own house, and have no suspicion of any harm; and desired him to show himself a worthy man, as that would tend to his own advantage.

7. But David, being desirous of ordaining his son king of all the people, called together their rulers to Jerusalem, with the priests and the Levites: and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand, from thirty years old to fifty; out of which he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and out of the same, six thousand to be judges of the people, and scribes, four thousand for the porters to the house of God, and as many for singers, to sing to the instruments which David had prepared, as we have said already. He divided them also into courses; and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of the priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the house of Eleazer, and eight of that of Ithamar; and he ordained that one course should minister to God eight days, from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high-priests, and of all the rulers: and that course which came up first was written down as the first, and accordingly, the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth: and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-four parts of the tribe of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honoured the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the donations which the kings dedicated. He also ordained, that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

8. After this, he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders, [and captains of hundreds,] and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds. He also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to take care of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the beasts, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention. When David had ordered all these

offices after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work, and every possession; and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows: "My brethren and my people, I would have you know, that I intended to build an house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold and an hundred thousand talents of silver, but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies, but he commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now, therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had, Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire, that my sons be not seditious one against another, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him; for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness, which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, over all the country, may continue, therein for all time to come. And these promises, O son, will be firm, and come to an happy end if thou showest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; and if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them."

9. Now when the king had said this, he left off: but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple, in the sight of them all, to Solomon; of the foundations, and of the chambers, inferior and superior, how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also, he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels; moreover, he earnestly excited them with his words, to use the utmost alacrity about the work: he exhorted the rules also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many carpenters, and stone-cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones:

and he said, that even now he would give of the proper goods of his own dominion two hundred talents, and three hundred other talents of pure gold, for the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubim, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now, when David had done speaking, there appeared great alacrity among the rulers, and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed, and made great and splendid promises for a future contribution : for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents, and ten thousand drachmas, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many then thousand talents of iron : and if any one had a precious stone, he brought it, and bequeathed it to be put among the treasures ; of which Jehiel, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

10. Upon this occasion, all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward ambition of the rulers, and the priests, and of all the rest ; and he began to bless God with a loud voice, “ calling him the father and parent of the universe, and the author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people ; and to Solomon his son, a sound and righteous mind, and confirmed in all sorts of virtue ; and then he commanded the multitude to bless God : upon which they all fell down upon the ground, and worshipped him. They also gave thanks to David on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had taken the kingdom. On the next day he presented sacrifice to God, a thousand bullocks, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, and slew many ten thousand sacrifices ; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people ; and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and appointed him to be king, and Zadok to be the high-priest of the whole multitude. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father’s throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

CHAP. XV.

What charge David gave his son Solomon, at the approach of his death ; and how many things he left him for the building of the temple.

§ 1. A LITTLE afterward David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age ; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus : “]

am now, O my son, going to my grave, and to my fathers, which is the common way which all men that now are or shall be hereafter, must go; from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know any thing that is done in this world: on which account I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous towards thy subjects, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom: to observe his commands, and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses; and neither do thou, out of favour nor flattery, allow any lust or other passion to weigh with thee, to disregard them; for, if thou transgressest his laws, thou wilt lose the favour of God, and thou wilt turn away his providence from thee in all things; but if thou behave thyself as it behooves thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve our kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews but we ourselves for all ages. But thou also mindful of the transgressions of Joab,* the captain of the host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Jether, whose death do thou avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Joab hath been too hard for me, and more potent than myself, and so hath escaped punishment hitherto. I also commit to thee the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom, in order to gratify me, thou shalt have in great honour, and take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but only repay that debt which we owe his father, for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shi-

* David is here greatly blamed by some for recommending Joab and Shimei to be punished by Solomon, if he could find a proper occasion, after he had borne with the first a long while, and seemed to have pardoned the other entirely, which Solomon executed accordingly: yet I cannot discern any fault either in David or Solomon in these cases. Joab's murder of Abner and Amasa were very barbarous, and could not properly be forgiven, either by David or Solomon; for a dispensing power in kings, for the crime of wilful murder, is warranted by no law of God; nay, is directly against it every where; nor is it, for certain, in the power of men to grant such a prerogative to any of their kings. Though Joab was so nearly related to David, and so potent in the army under a warlike administration, that David durst not himself put him to death, 2 Sam. iii. 39, and xix. 7. Shimei's *cursing the Lord's anointed*, and this without any just cause, was the highest act of treason against God, and his anointed king, and justly deserved death; and though David could forgive treason against himself, yet he had done no more in the case of Shimei than promised him, that he would not *then*, on the day of his return and re-inauguration, or upon that occasion, himself put him to death, 2 Sam. xix. 22, and he swore to him no farther, v. 23, as the words are in Josephus, than that he would not *then* put him to death, which he performed: nor was Solomon under any obligation to spare such a traitor.

mei, the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had cast many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight, I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him."

2. When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endowed with all the virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labours, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great abilities in understanding, and apprehension of present and future circumstances, when he was to manage any affairs. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were under any calamities: he was righteous and humane; which are good qualities, peculiarly fit for kings: nor was he guilty of any offence in the exercise of so great authority, but in the business of the wife of Uriah. He also left behind him greater wealth than any other king, either of the Hebrews, or of other nations, ever did.

3. He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with; moreover he had great and immense wealth buried with him, the vastness of which may be easily conjectured at, by what I shall now say; for a thousand and three hundred years afterwards, Hyrcanus, the high-priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, that was called *the Pious*, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of giving him money to get him to raise the siege, and draw off his army; and having no other method of compassing the money, opened one room of David's sepulchre, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus, and by this means caused the siege to be raised, as we have informed the reader elsewhere. Nay, after him, and that many years, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully, that they did not appear even to those that entered into their monuments. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 163 YEARS.

[From the death of David to the death of Ahab.]

CHAP. I.

How Solomon, when he had received the kingdom, took off his enemies.

§ 1. WE have already treated of David, and his virtue : and of the benefits he was the author of to his countrymen ; of his wars also, and battles, which he managed with success, and then died an old man, in the foregoing book. And when Solomon his son, who was but a youth in age, had taken the kingdom, and whom David had declared, while he was alive, the lord of that people, according to God's will ; when he sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamations to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign : and wished that all his affairs might come to a blessed conclusion, and that he might arrive at a great age, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.

2. But Adonijah, who, while his father was living, attempted to gain possession of the government, came to the king's mother, Bathsheba, and saluted her with great civility : and when she asked him, whether he came to her as desiring her assistance in any thing or not ? and bid him tell her if that were the case, for that she would cheerfully afford it him, he began to say, that " she knew herself that the kingdom was his, both on account of his elder age, and for the disposition of the multitude, and that yet it was transferred to Solomon her son, according to the will of God. He also said, that he was contented to be a servant under him, and was pleased with the present settlement ; but he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favour from his brother to him, and to persuade him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had, indeed, slept by his father, but because his father was too old, he did not lie with her, and she was still a virgin." So Bathsheba promised him to afford him her assistance very earnestly, and to bring this marriage about, because the king

would be willing to gratify him in such a thing, and because she would press him to it very earnestly. Accordingly, he went away in hopes of succeeding in this match. So Solomon's mother went presently to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised upon Adonijah's supplications to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and embraced her, and when he had brought her into the house where his royal throne was set, he sat thereon, and bid them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. When Bathsheba was set down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request that I desire of thee, and do not any thing to me that is disagreeable or ungrateful, which thou wilt do if thou deniest me." And when Solomon bid her to lay her commands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty to grant her every thing she should ask, and complained that she did not at first begin her discourse with a firm expectation of obtaining what she desired, but had some suspicion of a denial, she entreated him to grant, that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

3. But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent away his mother; and said that "Adonijah aimed at great things, and that he wondered that she did not desire him to yield up the kingdom to him, as to his elder brother, since she desired that he might marry Abishag; and that he had potent friends, Joab the captain of the host, and Abiathar the priest." So he called for Benaiah, the captain of the guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar the priest, and said to him, "I will not put thee to death, because of those other hardships which thou hast endured with my father, and because of the ark which thou hast borne along with him, but I inflict this following punishment upon thee, because thou wast among Adonijah's followers, and wast of his party. Do not thou continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to thine own town, and live on thy own fields, and there abide all thy life, for thou hast offended so greatly, that it is not just that thou shouldst retain thy dignity any longer." For the fore-mentioned cause, therefore, it was, that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar. So it was transferred to the family of Phineas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phineas, but lived privately during the time that the high-priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar, (of which family Eli was the first that received it,) were these that follow: Bukki, the son of Abishua the high-priest; his son was Joatham; Joatham's son was Meraioth; Meraioth's

son was Arophaeus ; Arophaeus's son was Ahitub ; and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high-priest in the reign of David.

4. Now when Joab, the captain of the host, heard of the slaughter of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to Solomon ; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger on account of his favour to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself, because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's supposal was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgment-seat, in order to make his defence. However, Joab said he would not leave the altar, but would die there, rather than in another place. And when Benaiah had reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head* there, and let him take that as a punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly slain, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that himself and his father, by Joab's death, might be guiltless. And when Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok to be alone the high-priest in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

5. But as to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build him an house, and stay at Jerusalem, and attend upon him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron ; and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He also threatened him so terribly, that he compelled him to take an oath that he would obey. Accordingly, Shimei said, that " he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction ;" and added an oath, that he would do as he bid him : and, leaving his own country, he made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterward, when he heard that two of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste ; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contemned his commands, and, what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God ; so he called him, and said to him, " Didst not thou swear never to leave me, nor to go out

* This execution upon Joab, as a murderer, by slaying him, even when he had taken sanctuary at God's altar, is perfectly agreeable to the law of Moses, which enjoins, that *if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from mine altar that he die.* Exod. xxi. 14.

of this city to another? thou shalt not, therefore, escape punishment for thy perjury, but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse my father when he was in his flight, and that thou mayest know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices, but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them, and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." So Benaiah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the wife of Solomon; concerning his wisdom and riches; and concerning what he obtained of Hiram for the building of the temple.

§ 1. SOLOMON having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, he married the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and built the wall of Jerusalem* much larger and stronger than those which had been before, and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peaceably: nor was his youth any hinderance in the exercise of justice, or in the observation of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charges his father had given him at his death, but he discharged every duty with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and to sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses. Accordingly, he offered there burnt-offerings, in number, a thousand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid great honour to God: for as he was asleep that very night, God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts which he was ready to give him, as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver, or any other riches, as a man and youth might naturally have done,

* This building the walls of Jerusalem, soon after David's death, illustrates the conclusion of the 1st psalm, where David prays, *build thou the walls of Jerusalem*; they being, it seems, unfinished or imperfect at that time. See chap. vi. § 1, and chap. vii. § 7, also 1 Kings ix. 15.

for these are the things that generally are esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and the best gifts of God ; but, said he, " Give me, O Lord, a sound mind, and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and judge the people according to truth and righteousness." With these petitions God was well pleased ; and promised to give him all those things that he had not mentioned in his option, riches, glory, victory over his enemies ; and, in the first place, understanding and wisdom, and this in such a degree as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons ever had. He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous and obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he excelled. When Solomon heard this from God, he presently leaped out of his bed ; and when he had worshipped him, he returned to Jerusalem, and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.

2. In these days an hard cause came before him in judgment, which it was very difficult to find any end of ; and I think it necessary to explain the fact, about which the contest was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a difficult cause Solomon was to determine, and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the king's for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence about such questions. There were two women, who were harlots in the course of their lives, that came to him ; of whom she that seemed to be injured began to speak first, and said, " O king, I and this other woman dwell together in one room : now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same hour of the same day, and on the third day this woman overlaid her son, and killed it, and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself, and as I was asleep she laid her dead son in my arms. Now, when, in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and found it so to be. Hence it was that I demanded my son, and when I could not obtain him, I have recourse, my lord, to thy assistance ; for since we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, she cares for nothing, but perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When this woman had told this her story, the king asked the other woman, what she had to say in contradiction to that story ? But when she denied that she had done what was charged upon her, and said, that it was her child that was living, and that it was her antagonist's

child that was dead, and when no one could devise what judgment could be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone invented the following way how to discover it; he bade them bring in both the dead and the living child; and sent one of his guards, and commanded him to fetch a sword, and draw it, and cut both the children into two pieces, that each of the women might have half the living and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But in the mean time, she that was the real mother of the living child cried out, that he should not do so, but deliver that child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life of the child, and with the sight of it, although it were esteemed the other's child: but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous moreover that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from the truth of their passions, he adjudged the child to her that cried out to save it, for that she was the real mother of it, and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was endeavouring to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this determination as a great sign and demonstration of the king's sagacity and wisdom: and after that day attended to him as to one that had a divine mind.

3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were these: over the lot of Ephraim was Ures; over the toparchy of Bethlehem was Dioclerus: Abinadab, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora, and the sea-coast under him: the great plain was under Benaiah, the son of Achilus; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan; Gabarius ruled over Gilead, and Gaulanitis, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities [of Og:] Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee, as far as Sidon: and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon's, whose name was *Basima*: Banactes had the sea-coast about Arce; as had Shaphat mount Tabor, and Carmel, and [the Lower] Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country: Shimei was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they betook themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of their grounds; for as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted

with wars and troubles, and having besides an unbounded fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

4. The king had also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria, and of the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and these collected his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king's table, and to his supper every day, * thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting, harts, and buffaloes, and birds, and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners, day by day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for those chariots were forty thousand; and besides these he had twelve thousand horsemen, the one half of which waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed abroad, and dwelt in the royal villages: but the same officer who provided for the king his expenses, supplied also the fodder for the horses, and still carried it to the place where the king abode at that time.

5. Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients, insomuch that he was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding; nay indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king's. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness; those I mean were Ethan, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Ma-

* It may not be amiss to compare the daily furniture of king Solomon's table, here set down, and 1 Kings iv. 22, 23, with the like daily furniture of Nehemiah the governor's table, after the Jews were come back from Babylon: and to remember withal, that Nehemiah was now building the walls of Jerusalem, and maintained more than usual above 150 considerable men every day, and that because the nation was then very poor, at his own charges also, without laying any burden upon the people at all. *Now that which was prepared daily for me, was one ox, and six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me; and once in ten days, store of all sorts of wine; and yet for all this I required not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people.* Neh. v. 18. See the whole context, ver. 14—19. Nor did the governor's usual allowance of 40 shekels of silver a-day, ver. 15, amount to 5l. a-day, nor to 1800l. a-year. Nor does it indeed appear, that under the Judges, or under Samuel the prophet, there was any such public allowance to those governors at all. Those great charges upon the public, for maintaining courts, came in with kings, as God foretold they would. 1 Sam. viii. 11—18.

hol. He also composed books of Odes and Songs, a thousand and five, of Parables and Similitudes three thousand : for he spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar ; and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air ; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn that skill which * expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to men. He composed such incantations, also, by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return ; and this method of cure is of great force unto this day ; for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was *Eleazer*, releasing people that were demoniacal, in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this ; he put a ring that had a root of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demons through his nostrils ; and when the man fell down immediately, he adjured him to return into him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazer would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that he had left the man ; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was showed very manifestly ; for which reason it is that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed, may not be unknown to any people under the sun ; for this rea-

* Some pretended fragments of these books of conjuration of Solomon, are still extant in Fabricius's *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* p. 1054, though I entirely differ from Josephus in this his supposal, that such books and arts of Solomon were parts of that *wisdom* which was imparted to him by God in his younger days ; they must rather have belonged to such profane but *curious arts*, as we find mentioned, *Acts* xix. 13—20, and had been derived from the idolatry and superstition of his heathen wives and concubines in his old age, when he had forsaken God, and God had forsaken him, and given him up to demoniacal delusions. Nor does Josephus's strange account of the root *Baara*, (*Of the War*, B. viii. ch. vi. § 3.) seem to be other than that of its magical use in such conjurations. As for the following history, it confirms what Christ says, *Matt.* xii. 27. *If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out ?*

son, I say, it is, that we have proceeded to speak so largely of these matters.

6. Moreover, Hiram, king of Tyre, when he had heard that Solomon succeeded to his father's kingdom, was very glad of it, for he was a friend of David's. So he sent ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which here follow :

SOLOMON TO KING HIRAM.

“ * Know thou that my father would have built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars, and continual expeditions, for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute : but I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build an house to God, for God foretold to my father that such an house should be built by me ; wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine, to mount Lebanon, to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the hewers of wood, I will pay whatsoever price thou shalt determine.”

7. When Hiram had read this epistle, he was pleased with it ; and wrote back this answer to Solomon :

HIRAM TO KING SOLOMON.

“ It is fit to bless God, that he hath committed thy father's government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest to me about ; for when by my subjects I have cut down many and large trees of cedar, and cypress-wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail to what place soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem : but do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island.”†

* These epistles of Solomon and Hiram, are those in 1 Kings v. 8—9, and as enlarged, in 2 Chron. ii. 3—16, but here given us by Josephus in his own words.

† What Josephus here puts into his copy of Hiram's epistle to Solomon, and repeats afterward, chap. v. § 3, that Tyre was now an *island*, is not in any of the three other copies, viz. that of the Kings, Chronicles, or Eusebius ; nor is it any other, I suppose, than his own conjectural paraphrase : for when I many years ago inquired into this matter, I found

8. The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also, insomuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said so much out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose an history out of some plausible relations, which deceivé men and please them at the same time, nor attempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the proper commendation of an historian, and yet be blameless: but we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to manifest its truth by demonstration, and the strongest vouchers.

the state of this famous city, and of the island whereupon it stood, to have been very different at different times. The result of my inquiries in this matter, with the addition of some later improvements, stands thus: that the best testimonies hereto relating, imply, that Palaeterus, or oldest Tyre, was no other than that most ancient smaller fort, or city Tyre, situated on the Continent, and mentioned in Joshua xix. 29, out of which the Canaanite or Phœnician inhabitants were driven into a large island, that lay not far off in the sea, by Joshua: that this island was then joined to the Continent at the present remains of Palaeterus by a neck of land over against Solomon's cisterns, still so called; and the city's fresh water probably was carried along in pipes by that neck of land, and that this island was therefore in strictness no other than a peninsula, having *villages in its fields*, Ezek. xxvi. 6, and a *wall* about it, Amos i. 10, and the city was not of so great reputation as Sidon for some ages: that it was attacked both by sea and land by Salmanassar, as Josephus informs us, Antiq. B. ix. ch. xiv. § 2, and afterward came to be the metropolis of Phœnicia, and was afterward taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, according to the numerous scripture prophecies thereto relating, Isa. xxiii. Jer. xxv. 22. xxvii. 3. xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. That 70 years after that destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, this city was in some measure revived and rebuilt, Isa. xxiii. 17, 18, but that, as the prophet Ezekiel had foretold, xxvi. 2, 4, 5, 14. xxvii. 34, the sea arose higher than before, till at last it overflowed, not only the neck of the land, but the main island, or peninsula, itself, and destroyed that old and famous city for ever: that, however, there still remained an adjoining smaller island, once connected to old Tyre itself by Hiram, which was afterward inhabited; to which Alexander the Great, with incredible pains, raised a new bank or causeway: and that it plainly appears from Maundrell, a most authentic eyewitness, that the old large and famous city, on the original large island, is now laid so generally under water, that scarce more than 40 acres of it, or rather of that adjoining small island, remain at this day; so that perhaps not above an hundredth part of the first island and city is now above water. This was foretold in the same prophecies of Ezekiel; and according to them, as Mr. Maundrell distinctly observes, these poor remains of old Tyre are now *become like the top of a rock, a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea.*

9. Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle of the king of Tyre was brought him, commended the readiness and good will he declared therein, and repaid him in what he desired, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cori of wheat, and as many baths of oil : now the bath is able to contain seventy-two sextaries. He also sent him the same measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more ; and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thousand labourers, whose work he rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them ; for he made ten thousand cut timber in mount Lebanon for one month, and then to come home, and rest two months, until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed time ; and so afterward it came to pass, that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month ; and it was Adoram who was over this tribe. There were also of the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones and other materials, seventy thousand ; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these, three thousand and three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut out large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit them and unite them together in the mountain, and so bring them to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

CHAP. III.

Of the building of the Temple.

§ 1. SOLOMON began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jar, five hundred and ninety-two years after the exodus out of Egypt, but after one thousand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and after the deluge, one thousand four hundred and forty years ; and from Adam, the first man who was created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. Now that year on which the temple began to be built, was already the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram ; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

2. Now, therefore, the king laid the foundations of the

* temple very deep into the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time : these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a basis, and a sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be erected over it : they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent : they erected its entire body quite up to the roof of white stone : its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measures ; so that the entire altitude of the temple was an hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the porch, they built it before the temple ; its length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house ; and it had twelve cubits in latitude, and its height was raised as high as an hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number, and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might come into one through another. Every one of these† rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above these there were other rooms, and others above them, equal both in their measures and numbers ; so that these reached to an height equal to the lower part of the house ; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar ; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, that was not connected with the other rooms ; but for the other parts, there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams that passed through the rest, and through the whole building, that so the middle walls being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby—made firmer : but as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, of plates of gold nailed upon them : and as he inclosed the walls

* Of the temple of Solomon, here described by Josephus, in this and the following sections of this chapter, see my description of the temples belonging to this work, chap. xiii.

† These small rooms, or side chambers, seem to have been, by Josephus's description, no less than 20 cubits high apiece, otherwise there must have been a large interval between one and the other that was over it, and this with double floors, the one of six cubits distance from the floor beneath it, as 1 Kings vi. 5.

with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures upon them, so that the whole temple shined, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered, by the splendour of the gold that was on every side of them. Now the whole structure of the temple was made with great skill, of polished stones, and those laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no sign of any hammer, or other instrument of architecture, but as if, without the use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the agreement of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural, than to have arisen from the force of tools upon them. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the upper room over the temple, and that was by steps in the thickness of its wall; for it had no large door on the east end, as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple, both within and without, with boards of cedar, that were kept close together by thick chains, so that this contrivance was in the nature of a support and a strength to the building.

3. Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits [every way,] to be the most secret chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary: and when he had cut a door-place out of the wall, he put therein doors of cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold, that had sculptures upon it. He also had vails of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors. He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and length the same, two cherubim of * solid gold; the height of each of them was five cubits: they had each of them two wings stretched out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern: their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the ark, which was set between them: but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubim. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold: and

* Josephus says here that the cherubim were of *solid gold*, and only five cubits high; while our Hebrew copies, 1 Kings vi. 23, 28, say they were of the olive tree, and the LXXII. of the cypress-tree, and only overlaid with gold; and both agree they were 10 cubits high. I suppose the number is here safely transcribed, and that Josephus wrote ten cubits also.

he added doors to the gate of the temple, agreeable to the measure of the height of the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits, and on them he glued gold plates. And, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, neither internal nor external, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these doors, in like manner as they are drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place ; but the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was *Hiram* ; he was by birth of the tribe of Naphthali, on the mother's side, (for she was of that tribe,) but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skilful in all sorts of work ; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, and silver, and brass, by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon. Moreover, this *Hiram* made * two [hollow] pillars, whose outsides were of brass, and the thickness of brass was four fingers breadth, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits, and their circumference twelve cubits ; but there was cast with each of their chapiters, lily work that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which there was net work interwoven with small palms, made of brass, and covered the lily work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates, in two rows : the one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right hand, and called it *Jachin*, and the other at the left hand, and called it *Booz*.

5. Solomon also cast a brazen sea, whose figure was that of an hemisphere : this brazen vessel was called a sea for its largeness, for the laver was ten feet in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm : its middle part rested on a short pillar, that had ten spirals round it ; and that pillar was ten cubits in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen that looked to the four winds of heaven, three to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

6. He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadrangular lavers : the length of every one of the bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived : there

* As for these two famous pillars, *Jachin* and *Booz*, their height could be no more than 18 cubits, as here, and 1 Kings vii. 15. 2 Kings xxv. 17. Jer lii. 21, those 35 cubits in 2 Chron. iii. 15, being contrary to all the rules of architecture in the world.

were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner; these had the sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter; they were parted into three parts: every interval had a border fitted to support [the laver;] upon which was engraven, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull, and an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraven on the sides. The whole work was elevated, and stood upon four wheels, which were also cast, which had also naves and felloes, and were a foot and an half in diameter. And one who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed to the felloes, would wonder at them. However, their structure was this: certain shoulders of hands, stretched out, held the corners above, upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the fore feet of the eagle and the lion, which were adapted to them, insomuch that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engravings of palm-trees. This was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass vessels, which were the lavers themselves, each of which contained forty baths;* for it had its height four cubits, and its edges were as much distant from each other. He also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called *Mechonoth*; and he set five of the lavers on the left side of the temple,† which was the side towards the north wind, and as many on the right side, towards the south, but looking towards the east: the same [eastern] way he also set the sea. Now, he appointed the sea to be for washing the hands and feet of the priests, when they entered into the temple, and

* The round cylindrical lavers of four cubits in diameter, and four in height, both in our copies, 1 Kings vii. 38, 39, and here in Josephus, must have contained a great deal more than the 40 baths, which are always assigned them. Where the error lies is hard to say: perhaps Josephus honestly followed his copies here, though they had been corrupted, and he was not able to restore the true reading. In the mean time, these 40 baths are probably the true quantity contained in each laver, since they went upon wheels, and were to be drawn by Levites about the courts of the priests, for the washings they were designed for; and had they held much more, they would have been too heavy to have been so drawn.

† Here Josephus gives us a key to his own language, of *right* and *left* hand in the tabernacle and temple, that by the *right hand* he means what is against our *left*, when we suppose ourselves going up from the east gates of the courts towards the tabernacle or temple themselves, and so *vice versa*; whence it follows, that the pillar *Jachin* on the *right* hand of the temple, was on the south, against our left hand, and *Booz* on the north, against our right hand,

were to ascend the altar, but the lavers to cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings, with their feet also.

7. He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels of brass, the pots, and the shovels, and the basins, and besides these, the snuffers, and the tongs, and all its other vessels, he made of brass, and such brass as was in splendour and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, but one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God; and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were done after another manner, upon which lay the vials, and the cups: those of gold were twenty thousand; those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks, according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day time, according to the law; and one table with loaves upon it, on the north side of the temple, over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house, which was forty cubits long, and were before the vail of that most secret place wherein the ark was to be set.

8. The king also made pouring vessels, in number eighty thousand, and an hundred thousand golden vails, and twice as many silver vails: of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basins also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the *Hin*, and the *Assaron*, [a tenth deal,] there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were twenty thousand: the other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar, within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garment, which belonged to the high-priest, with the long-ropes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown,* upon which Moses wrote [the name of] God, was only one, and hath remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest; and two hundred thou-

* Of the *golden plate* on the high-priest's forehead that was in being in the days of Josephus, and a century or two at least later, see the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. vii. § 6. vol. i,

sand trumpets, according to the command of Moses ; also two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers, that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called *Nablae* and *Cinyrae*, [psalteries and harps,] which were made of electrum, [the finest brass,] forty thousand.

9. Solomon made all these things for the honour of God, with great variety and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple : and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple, which in our tongue we call *Gison*, but it is called *Thrigcos* by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits ; and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, and showing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters : this was entered into by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of the [four] winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure, and observant of the laws. But he made that temple which was beyond this a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words : nay, if I may so say, is hardly believed upon sight : for when he had filled up great valleys with earth, which, on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pain, and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built, and by this means the utmost temple, which was exposed to the air, was* even with the temple itself. He encompassed this also with a building of a double row of cloisters, which stood on high upon pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished in a manner proper for such high roofs, but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

* When Josephus here says, that the floor of the utmost temple, or court of the Gentiles, was with vast labour raised to be *even* or of *equal height* with the floor of the inner, or court of the priests, he must mean this in a gross estimation only, for he and all others agree, that the inner temple, or court of the priests, was a few cubits more elevated than the middle court, the court of Israel, and that much more was the court of the priests elevated several cubits above that utmost court, since the court of Israel was lower than the one, and higher than the other.

CHAP. IV.

How Solomon removed the ark into the temple; how he made supplication to God, and offered public sacrifices to him.

§ 1. WHEN king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, he had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years,* and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therein, insomuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished; and [would be surprised] that so much should be finished in so short a time; short, I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work: he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it: and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was every where carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together; which month is by our countrymen called *Thisri*, but by the Macedonians *Hyperberetaeus*. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark, and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration, to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple. The king himself, and all the people, and the Levites, went before, rendering the ground moist with sacrifices, and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense, and this till the very air itself every where round about was full of these odours, that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God's presence, and, as men's opi-

* The Septuagint say, that they prepared timber and stones to build the temple for three years, 1 Kings v. 18, and although neither our present Hebrew copy, nor Josephus, directly name that number of years, yet do they both say the building itself did not begin till Solomon's fourth year; and both speak of the preparation of materials beforehand, 1 Kings v. 18. Antiq. B. viii. ch. v. § 1. There is no reason, therefore, to alter the Septuagint's number; but we are to suppose three years to have been the just time of the preparation, as I have done in my computation of the expense in building that temple.

† This solemn removal of the ark from mount Sion to mount Moriah, at the distance of almost three quarters of a mile, confutes that notion of the modern Jews, and followed by many Christians also, as if those two were after a sort one and the same mountain, for which there is, I think, very little foundation.

nion was, of his habitation with them in this newly built and consecrated place, for they did not grow weary either of singing hymns, or of dancing, until they came to the temple : and in this manner did they carry the ark. But when they should transfer it to the most secret place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubim, which embracing it with their wings, for so were they framed by the artificer, they covered it as under a tent or a cupola. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments which God spake to Moses in Mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them : but they set the candlestick, and table, and the golden altar, in the temple, before the most secret place, in the very same place, wherein they stood till that time, in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices : but for the brazen altar, Solomon set it before the temple, over against the door, that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifice, might be thence seen : and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

2. Now as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, there came down a thick cloud and stood there, and spread itself, after a gentle manner, into the temple, such a cloud it was as was diffused, and temperate, not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one priest could not discern another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image, and glorious appearance of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon rose up, (for he was sitting before,) and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give : for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and such an one as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works ; we know it to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest, nor art thou contained within their limits. I have indeed built this temple to thee, and thy name, that from thence, when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own ; for neither when thou seest all things, and hearest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave off the care of all men, but rather thou art very near to them all, but especially thou art

present to those that address themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them; how he had showed all things that were come to pass to David his father, as many of those things had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born; and foretold, that when he should be king, after his father's death, he should build him a temple, which since they saw accomplished according to his prediction, he required them to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

3. When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible, by what men can do, to return sufficient thanks to God for his benefits bestowed on them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but so far as we have been made superior, O Lord, to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy majesty, and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people; for with what other instrument can we better appease thee when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice? which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards [towards thee.] I, therefore, ought myself to return thee thanks thereby, in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy; and in the next place, concerning myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto this very day. And I beseech thee, for the time to come, to afford us whatsoever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem; and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father to do, both in his lifetime, and at his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to ten thousand generations. Do not thou, therefore, fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow upon my children that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire

heavens, and the immensity of the things that are therein, are but a small habitation for thee, much more is this poor temple so : but I entreat thee to keep it as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever, and to take care of it as thine own possession ; but if this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague, because of their sins, as with dearth, or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they fly all of them to this temple, beseeching thee, and begging of thee to deliver them, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions ; nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world whatsoever, and shall return from their sins, and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee ; and that we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people ; but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated by thee to all men in common, and that they may have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them.”

4. When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he arose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar ; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him, for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now, when this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demonstration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favourable disposition to them ; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and that they might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the most blessed of all nations among all mankind. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same

they must preserve them sure to themselves, and make them greater, and more than they were at present ; for that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come, for that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire somewhat which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin, whereby it may be hurt.

5. So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not till he had completed his oblations, both for himself, and for the Hebrews, insomuch, that he sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep, for then it was that the temple did first of all taste of the victims, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted therein ; nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the *Feast of Tabernacles*, before the temple, for twice seven days, and he then feasted, together with all the people.

6. When all these solemnities were abundantly satisfied, and nothing was omitted that concerned the divine worship, the king dismissed them ; and they every one went to their own homes, giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them ; and praying to God to preserve Solomon to be their king for a long time. They also took their journey home with rejoicing, and making merry, and singing hymns to God ; and, indeed, the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the pains they all underwent in their journey home. So when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had seen its greatness, and how fine it was, and had been partakers of the many sacrifices that had been offered, and of the festivals that had been solemnized, they every one returned to their own cities. But a dream that appeared to the king in his sleep, informed him, that “ God had heard his prayers ; and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it, that is, in case his posterity, and the whole multitude, would be righteous. And for himself, it said, that if he continued according to the admonitions of his father, he would advance him to an immense degree of dignity and happiness, and that then his posterity should be kings of that country of the tribe of Judah for ever : but that still, if he should be found a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and forget them, and turn away to the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off by the roots, and would neither suffer any remainder of his family to continue, nor would over-

look the people of Israel, or preserve them any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes ; would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourn in strange lands ; and deliver that temple which was now built, to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies ; and that city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies ; and make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should very hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, till their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been so far advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be then so hated by him ? And that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people should be, by confessing their sins, and their transgression of the laws of their country." Accordingly, we have it transmitted to us in writing, that thus did God speak in his sleep to Solomon.

CHAP. V.

How Solomon built himself a royal palace, very costly and splendid ; and how he solved the riddles which were sent him by Hiram.

§ 1. AFTER the building of the temple, which, as we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years, for he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace, as he had been about the temple ; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated therewith, that it was finished in the forementioned number of years ; but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long beforehand gotten ready, nor had been so zealously prepared, and on account that this was only an habitation for kings, and not for God, it was longer in finishing. However, this building was raised so magnificently, as suited the happy state of the Hebrews, and of the king thereof : but it is necessary that I describe the entire structure and disposition of the parts, that so those that light upon this book may thereby make a conjecture, and, as it were, have a prospect of its magnitude.

2. This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars, which Solomon built to contain a

multitude for hearing causes, and taking cognizance of suits. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of men, who would come together to have their causes determined. It was an hundred cubits, long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar, but its roof was according to the Corinthian order,* with folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each fluted with three cavities; which building was at once firm and very ornamental. There was also another house so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in the middle: it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a temple over against it, raised upon massy pillars; in which temple there was a large and very glorious room, wherein the king sat in judgment. To this was joined another house that was built for his queen. There were other smaller edifices for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscotted the walls with other stones that were saved, and were of great value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which make the mines, whence they are dug, famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of these stones, was in three rows, but the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, whereby were represented trees, and all sorts of plants, with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigious thin and subtile, that you would think they were in motion; but the other part, up to the roof, was plastered over, and,

* This mention of the Corinthian ornaments of architecture in Solomon's palace by Josephus, seems to be here set down by way of prolepsis; for although it appears to me that the Grecian and Roman most ancient orders of architecture were taken from Solomon's temple, as from their original pattern, yet it is not so clear that the last and most ornamental order of the Corinthian was so ancient, although what the same Josephus says, Of the War, B. v chap. v. § 3. vol. vi. that one of the gates of Herod's temple was built according to the rules of this Corinthian order, is no way improbable, that order being, without dispute, much older than the reign of Herod. However, upon some trials, I confess I have not hitherto been able fully to understand the structure of this palace of Solomon's, either as described in our Bibles, or even with the additional help of this description here by Josephus; only the reader may easily observe with me, that the measures of this first building in Josephus, 100 cubits long, and 50 cubits broad, are the very same with the area of the court of the tabernacle of Moses, and just half an Egyptian *aroura*, or acre.

as it were, embroidered with colours and pictures. He moreover built other edifices for pleasure ; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable place of the palace ; and among them a most glorious dining-room, for feastings and computations, and full of gold, and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the conveniency of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold. Now it is very hard to reckon up the magnitude, and the variety of the royal apartments ; how many rooms there were of the largest sort ; how many of a bigness inferior to those ; and how many that were subterraneous and invisible ; the curiosity of those that enjoyed the fresh air ; and the groves for the most delightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat, and covering of their bodies. And to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, and cedar-wood, and gold, and silver. He also adorned the roofs and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious bigness, of ivory, constructed as a seat of justice, and having six steps to it ; on every one of which stood, on each end of the step, two lions, two other lions standing above, also ; but at the sitting place of the throne, hands came out and received the king ; and when he sat backward, he rested on half a bullock that looked towards his back, but still all was fastened together with gold.

3. When Solomon had completed all this in twenty years time, because Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold, and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar-wood, and pine-wood, he also rewarded Hiram with rich presents : corn he sent him also, year by year, and wine, and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as we have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre ; which when Hiram went to, and viewed, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon, that he did not want such cities as they were ; and after that time those cities were called the land of *Cabul*, which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phœnicians, denotes *what does not please*. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent sophisms and enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious and understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him, but he conquered them all, by his reasonings, and discovered their hidden meaning, and

brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phœnicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom from him, who, when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple. He also went and cut down materials of timber out of the mountain called *Libanus*, for the roof of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he both built the temple of Hercules, and that of Astarte; and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Euchii [or Titii,] who did not pay their tributè, and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned. Under this king there was Abdemon, a very youth in age, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon king of Jerusalem commanded him to explain." Dios also makes mention of him, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them, and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples." He says also, that "Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him, but that he who could not solve them should pay money to him that did solve them, and that Hiram accepted the conditions; and when he was not able to solve the riddles [proposed by Solomon,] he paid a great deal of money for his fine: but that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles, by means of Abdemon, a man of Tyre: and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram." This it is which Dios wrote.

CHAP. VI.

How Solomon fortified the city Jerusalem, and built great cities; and how he brought some of the Canaanites into subjection, and entertained the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia.

§ 1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger, (for he thought the walls that encompassed Jerusalem ought

to correspond to the dignity of the city,) he both repaired them, and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor, and Meggiddo, and the third, Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Philistines; but Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, had made an expedition against it, and besieged it, and taken it by force, and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he utterly overthrew it, and gave it as a present to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon; for which reason, the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, and the mutations of affairs that sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it, Beth-horon was the name of one of them, and Baalah of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them, such as were naturally of a good temperature of the air, and agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from the Upper Syria, and one day's journey from Euphrates, and six long days' journey from Babylon the great. Now the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria, that are inhabited, is this, that below, there is no water to be had, and that it is in that place only that there are springs and pits of water. When he had, therefore, built this city, and encompassed it with very strong walls, he gave it the name of *Tadmor*, and that is the name it is still called by at this day among the Syrians, but the Greeks name it *Palmyra*.

2. Now Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. But if any inquire why all the kings of Egypt, from Menes, who built Memphis, and was many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, where the interval was more than one thousand three hundred years, were called *Pharaohs*, and took it from one Pharaoh, that lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them of it, and this in order to cure their ignorance, and to make the occasion of that name manifest. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies a king;* but I

* This signification of the name of *Pharaoh* appears to be true. But what Josephus adds presently, that *no king of Egypt was called Pharaoh after Solomon's father-in-law*, does hardly agree to our copies, which have long afterward the names of *Pharaoh Nechoh*, and *Pharaoh Hophra*, 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Jer. xlv. 30, besides the frequent mention of that name, *Pharaoh*, in the prophets. However, Josephus himself, in his own

suppose they made use of other names from their childhood, but when they were made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority : for thus it was, also, that the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were named *Ptolemies*, from their first king. The Roman emperors were also from their nativity called by other names, but are styled *Cæsars*, their empire and their dignity imposing that name upon them, and not suffering them to continue in those names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also, that Herodotus, of Halicarnassus, when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Menes, who built Memphis, did, therefore, not tell us their names, because they were in common called *Pharaohs*; for when, after death, there was a queen reigned, he calls her by her name, *Nicaule*, as thereby declaring, that while their kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same name, while a woman did not admit the same, he did, therefore, set down that her name, which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name : and that it was after that time when the fore-named queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently ; but I have now made mention of these things, that I may prove that our books, and those of the Egyptian, agree together in many things.

3. But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites, that had not before submitted to him ; those I mean that dwelt in mount Lebanon, and as far as the city Hamath ; and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic works, and to follow husbandry ; for none of the Hebrews were servants [in such low employments ;] nor was it reasonable that, when God had brought so many nations under their power, they should depress their own people to such mean offices of life, rather than those nations. While all the Israelites were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armour, and set over the speech to the Jews, Of the War, B. v. ch. ix. § 4, vol. vi. speaks of *Nechao*, who was also called *Pharaoh*, as the name of that king of Egypt with whom Abraham was concerned ; of which name, *Nechao*, yet we have elsewhere no mention till the days of Josiah, but only of *Pharaoh*. And indeed it must be confessed, that here, and § 5, we have more mistakes made by Josephus, and those relating to the kings of Egypt, and to that queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, whom he supposes to have come to see Solomon, than almost any where else in all his Antiquities.

chariots, and the horses, rather than leading the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labours and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

4. Moreover the king built many ships in the Egyptian bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called *Ezion-geber*: it is now called *Berenice*, and is not far from the city Eloth. This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping, from the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of men thither for pilots, and such as were skilful in navigation, to whom Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his own stewards to the land that was of old called *Ophir*, but now the *Aurea Chersonesus*, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered four hundred talents together, they returned to the king again.

5. There was then a woman queen of * Egypt and Ethiopia: she was inquisitive into philosophy, and one that on other accounts, also, was to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and prudence of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him; and the reports that went every day abroad, induced her to come to him, she being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by a bare hearing; (for reports thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit of the relators,) so she resolved to come to him, and that especially in order to have a trial of his wisdom, while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, and entreated that he would solve their hidden meaning. Accordingly, she came to Jerusalem with great splendour, and rich furniture; for she brought with her camels laden with gold, with several sorts of sweet spices, and with precious stones. Now, upon the king's kind reception of her, he both showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she expounded to him, he resolved them sooner than any body could have expected. So she was

* That this queen of Sheba was a queen of Sabaea in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus here asserts, is, I suppose now generally agreed: and since Sabaea is well known to be a country near the sea in the south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judea also; and since our Saviour calls this queen, *the queen of the south*, and says, *she came from the utmost parts of the earth*, Matt. xii. 42. Luke xi. 31, which descriptions agree better to this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter.

amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than what she had heard by report beforehand ; and especially she was surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palace, and not less so at the good order of the apartments, for she observed that the king had therein shown great wisdom ; but she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnificence of his daily table, and the circumstances of its preparation and ministration, with the apparel of his servants that waited, and the skilful and decent management of their attendance : nor was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God ; and the careful management which the priests and Levites used about them. When she saw this done every day, she was in the greatest admiration imaginable, insomuch that she was not able to contain the surprise she was in, but openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected : for she proceeded to discourse with the king, and thereby owned that she was overcome with admiration at things before related ; and said, “ All things indeed, O king, that come to our knowledge by report, come with uncertainty as to our belief of them ; but as to those good things that to thee appertain, both such as thou thyself possessest, I mean wisdom and prudence, and the happiness thou hast from thy kingdom, certainly the same that came to us was no falsity ; it was not only a true report, but it related the happiness after a much lower manner than I now see it to be before my eyes. For as for the report, it only attempted to persuade our hearing, but did not so make known the dignity of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and being present among them. I, indeed, who did not believe what was reported, by reason of the multitude and grandeur of the things I inquired about, do see them to be much more numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly, I esteem the Hebrew people, as well as thy servants and friends, to be happy, who enjoy thy presence, and hear thy wisdom every day continually. One would, therefore, bless God, who hath so loved this country, and those that inhabit therein, as to make thee king over them.”

6. Now when the queen had thus demonstrated in words how deeply the king had affected her, she made that her disposition known by certain presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and immense quantity of spices, and precious stones. They say also, that we possess the * root of that bal-

* Some blame Josephus for supposing, that the balsam-tree might be first brought out of Arabia, or Egypt, or Ethiopia, into Judea, by this queen of Sheba, since several have said, that of old, no country bore this

sam which our country still bears by his woman's gift. Solomon also repayed her with many good things, and principally by bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was nothing that she desired which he denied her; and as he was very generous and liberal in his own temper, so did he show the greatness of his soul in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him. So when this queen of Ethiopia had obtained what we have already given an account of, and had again communicated to the king what she brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.

CHAP. VII.

How solomon grew rich, and fell desperately in love with women; and how God, being incensed at it, raised up Ader and Jeroboam against him. Concerning the death of Solomon.

§ 1. ABOUT the same time there was brought to the king from the Aurea Chersonsus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine-trees, and these trees he made use of for supporting the temple, and the palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps, and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine-trees were like those which are now so named, and which take that their denomination from the merchants, who so called them, that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig-tree, but were whiter and more shining. Now we have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference between these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the

precious balsam but Judea; yet it is not only false that this balsam was peculiar to Judea, but both Egypt and Arabia, and particularly Sabaea had it; which last was that very country whence Josephus, if understood not of Ethiopia, but of Arabia, intimates this queen might bring it first into Judea. Nor are we to suppose that the queen of Sabaea could well omit such a present as this balsam-tree would be esteemed by Solomon, in case it were then almost peculiar to her own country: nor is the mention of balm or balsam, as carried by merchants, and sent as a present out of Judea, by Jacob, to the governor of Egypt, Gen. xxxvii. 25, and xliii. 11, to be alleged to the contrary, since what we there render *balm*, or *balsam*, denotes rather, that *turpentine* which we now call *turpentine of Chio*, or *Cyprus*, the juice of the turpentine-tree, than this precious balsam. This last is also the same word that we elsewhere render by the same mistake, *balm of Gilead*; it could be rendered the *turpentine of Gilead*. Jer. viii. 22.

nature of the genuine pine-tree ; and we thought it both a seasonable and humane thing when we mentioned it, and the uses the king made of it, to explain this difference so far as we have done.

2. Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the toparchs and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds, of gold, and he had them carried, and put into that house which was called the forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of [precious] stones, for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner ; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then to be sold or bought for silver ; for the king had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarsus ; these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise unto the remotest nations, by the sale of which, silver and gold were brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians, and apes, and they finishing their voyage, going and returning, in three years' time.

3. Accordingly, there went a great fame all around the neighbouring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon ; insomuch that all the kings every where were desirous to see him, as not giving credit to what was reported, on account of its being almost incredible ; they also demonstrated the regard they had for him, by the presents they made him : for they sent him vessels of gold, and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses, and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find proper to please the king's eyes, by their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to those chariots and horses which he had before from these that were sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred, for he had a thousand before, and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much exercised, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could, upon the comparison, appear either finer or swifter, but they were at once the most beautiful of all others, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a farther ornament to them, being in the first place young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and being eminent for their largeness, and far

taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sun-beams from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who were still in armour, and had their bows fitted to them. He had on a white garment; and used to take his progress out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place, about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called *Etham*, * very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high [in his chariot.]

4. Now Solomon had a divine sagacity in all things, and was very diligent and studious to have things done after an elegant manner; so he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a causeway of black stone along the roads that led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, both to render them easy for travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also parted his chariots, and set them in a regular order, that a certain number of them should be in every city, still keeping a few about him; and those cities he called the *cities of his chariots*. And the king made silver so plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the streets; and so multiplied cedar-trees in the plains of Judea, which did not grow there before, that they were like the multitude of common sycamore-trees. He also ordained the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise, to sell him a chariot, with a pair of horses, for six hundred drachmae of silver, and he sent them to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond Euphrates.

5. But although Solomon was become the most glorious of kings, and the best beloved by God, and had exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet did not he persevere in this happy state till

* Whether these fine gardens and rivulets of Etham, about six miles from Jerusalem, whither Solomon rode so often in state, be not those alluded to, Eccles. ii. 5, 6, where he says, *He made him gardens and orchards; and planted trees in them of all kind of fruits; he made him pools of water, to water the wood that bringeth forth trees*. And to the finest part whereof he seems to allude, when, in the Canticles, he compares his spouse to a *garden inclosed; to a spring shut up; to a fountain sealed*, chap. iv. 12, (part of which fountains are still extant, as Mr. Maundrell informs us, p. 87, 88,) cannot now be certainly determined, but may very probably be conjectured. But whether this *Etham* has any relation to those *rivers of Etham*, which Providence once dried up in a miraculous manner, Psal. lxxiv. 15, and the Septuagint, I cannot say.

he died. Nay, he forsook the observation of the laws of his fathers, and came to an end no way suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lusts; nor was he satisfied with the women of his own country alone, but he married many wives, out of foreign nations, Sidonians, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites: and he transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people. He also began to worship their gods, which he did in order to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honour our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was fallen headlong into unreasonable pleasures, and regarded not those admonitions; for when he had married * seven hundred wives, the daughters of princes and eminent persons, and three hundred concubines, and these besides the king of Egypt's daughter, he soon was governed by them, till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them this demonstration of his kindness and affection to them, to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew into years, and his reason became weaker by length of time, it was not sufficient to recall to his mind the institutions of his own country, so he still more and more contemned his own God, and continued to regard the gods that his marriages had introduced: nay, before this happened, he sinned, and fell into an error about the observation of laws, when he made the † images

* These 700 wives, or the daughters of great men, and the 300 concubines, the daughters of the ignoble, make 1000 in all; and are, I suppose those very 1000 women intimated elsewhere by Solomon himself, when he speaks of his not having found one [good] woman among that very number. Eeeles. vii. 28.

† Josephus is here certainly too severe upon Solomon, who, in making the cherubim, and these twelve brazen oxen, seems to have done no more than imitate the patterns left him by David, which were all given David by divine inspiration. See my description of the temple, ch. x. and although God gave no direction for the lions that adorned his throne, yet does not Solomon seem therein to have broken any law of Moses; for although the Pharisees, and latter Rabbins, have extended the second commandment, to forbid the very *making* of an image, though without any intention to have it worshipped, yet do not I suppose that Solomon so understood it, nor that it ought to be so understood. The making any other altar for worship but that at the tabernacle, was equally forbidden by Moses, Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. § 5. vol. i. yet did not the two tribes and an half offend when they made an altar for a memorial only. Joshua xxii. Antiq. B. v. ch. i. § 26, 27. vol. i.

of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his own throne; for these he made, although it was not agreeable to piety so to do: and this he did, notwithstanding that he had his father as a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him, because of his piety towards God: nor did he imitate David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to imitate his father: so he died ingloriously. There came, therefore, a prophet to him, who was sent by God, and told him, that "his wicked actions were not concealed from God; and threatened him that he should not long rejoice in what he had done: that indeed the kingdom should not be taken from him while he was alive, because God had promised to his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David's grandson, for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city Jerusalem, wherein he would have a temple."

6. When Solomon heard this, he was grieved, and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state: nor had there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was coming, before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was *Ader*, who took the following occasion of his enmity to him. He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab the captain of David's host, laid waste the land of Edom, and destroyed all that were men grown, and able to bear arms, for six months time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him an house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with food; and when he was grown up, he loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was *Taphenes*, to wife, by whom he had a son, who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he came to Pharaoh, and desired that he would permit him to go to his own country: upon which the king asked what it was that he wanted, and what hardship he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him. And when he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it: but at the time when Solomon's affairs* began to grow worse,

* Since the beginning of Solomon's evil life and adversity, was the

on account of his forementioned transgressions, and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom: and when he was not able to make the people forsake Solomon, for it was kept under by many garrisons, and an innovation was not to be made with safety, he removed thence, and came into Syria: there he light upon one *Rezon*, who had run away from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, who had already a band of robbers about him. So he went up and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

7. There was also one of Solomon's own nation that made an attempt against him, Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who had an expectation of rising, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother; and when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he took such care of those works, that the king approved of his behaviour, and gave him as a reward for the same, the charge over the tribe of Joseph. And when, about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shiloh, whose name was *Abijah*, met him, and saluted him; and when he had taken him a little aside to a place out of the way, where there was not one other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bid Jeroboam take ten of them; and told him beforehand, that "this is the will of God, he will part the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next to it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession, and will give ten tribes to thee, because Solomon hath sinned against him, and delivered up himself to women and to their gods. Seeing, therefore, thou knowest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou righteous, and keep the laws, because he hath proposed to thee the greatest of all rewards for thy piety, and the honour thou shalt pay to God, namely, to be as greatly exalted as thou knowest David to have been."

time when Hadad or Ader, who was born at least twenty or thirty-years before Solomon came to the crown, in the days of David, began to give him disturbance. This implies that Solomon's evil life began early, and continued very long, which the multitude of his wives and concubines does imply also; I suppose when he was not 50 years of age.

8. So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet, and being a young man,* of a warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet: and when he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Abijah, he endeavoured to persuade the people to forsake Solomon, to make a disturbance, and to bring the government over to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to catch him and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand, and fled to Shishak, the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon; by which means he gained these two advantages, to suffer no harm from Solomon, and to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four. He was buried in Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and wisdom, excepting that when he was growing into years, he was deluded by women, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.

CHAP. VIII.

How, upon the death of Solomon, the people forsook his son Rehoboam, and ordained Jeroboam king over the ten tribes.

§ 1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam (who was born of an Ammonite wife, whose name was *Naamah*) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam: and when he was come to them, to the city Schechem, Rehoboam came to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites while they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, came to him, and besought him, and said, that "he ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father in the servitude he had imposed on them, because they had borne an heavy yoke, and that then they should be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve under his moderate government, and

* This youth of Jeroboam, when Solomon built the walls of Jerusalem, not very long after he had finished his 20 years building of the temple, and his own palace, or not very long after the 24th year of his reign, 1 Kings ix, 24. 2 Chron. viii. 11, and his youth here still mentioned, when Solomon's wickedness was become intolerable, fully confirm my former observation, that such his wickedness began early, and continued very long. See Eccles. xlvii. 14.

should do it more out of love than fear." But Rehoboam told them, they should come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given them a favourable answer to their mind immediately, for they thought he should have given the men a humane answer off hand, especially since he was but young. However, they thought that his consultation about it, and that he did not presently give them a denial, afforded them some good hope of success.

2. Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and advised with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the multitude: upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and those that knew the temper of such a multitude; they advised him "to speak in a way more popular than suited to the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby oblige them to submit to him with good will, it being most agreeable to subjects that their kings should be almost upon a level with them." But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and, in general, so profitable advice, (it was such, at least, at that time when he was to be made king.) God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be condemned by him. So he called for the young men, who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bid them speak what they thought he ought to do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people, (for neither their youth, nor God himself suffered them to discern what was best:) "That his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him; and if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would do it with scorpions."* The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his government to give them such an answer. Accordingly, when the multitude was come together to hear his answer on the third day, all the people were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed they should hear somewhat of a kind nature, but he passed by his friends, and answered as the young men had given him counsel. Now this was

* That by *scorpions* is not here meant that small animal so called, which was never used in corrections, but either a shrub, with sharp prickles like the stings of scorpions, such as our furze-bush, or else some terrible sort of whip of the like nature. See Hudson's and Spanheim's notes here.

done according to the will of God, that what Abijah had foretold might come to pass.

3. By these words the people were struck, as it were, by an iron hammer, and were so grieved at the words, as if they had already felt the effects of them, and they had great indignation at the king, and they all cried out aloud, and said, "We will have no longer any relation to David or his posterity after this day." And they said farther, "We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built;" and they threatened to forsake him: nay, they were so bitter, and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, which was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and render them milder, and persuade them to forgive him, if he had said any thing that was rash or grievous to them in his youth, they would not bear it, but threw stones at him, and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by those stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should undergo the last of punishments in earnest; so he got immediately into his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribe Judah, and that of Benjamin, ordained him king: but the rest of the multitude forsook the sons of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be ruler of their public affairs. Upon this, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that submitted to him, and was ready to take an hundred and eighty thousand chosen men out of the army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden of God by the prophet [Shemaiah] to go to war, for that it was not just that brethren of the same country should fight one against another. He also said, that this defection of the multitude was according to the purpose of God. So he did not proceed in this expedition. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which, we will relate what are therewith connected, the actions of Rehoboam the king of the two tribes; by this means, we shall preserve the good order of the history entire.

4. When, therefore, Jeroboam had built him a palace in the city Schechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at Penuel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in a little time, Jeroboam considered, that if he should permit the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple and by the worship of God there performed, and would leave him, and return to their first king; and if so, he should

run the risk of losing his own life, so he invented this contrivance : he made two golden heifers, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the fountains* of the Lesser Jordan, and he put the heifers into both the little temples, in the fore-mentioned cities. And when he had called those ten tribes together over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words : “ I suppose, my countrymen, that you know this, that every place hath God in it, nor is there any one determinate place in which he is, but he every where hears and sees those that worship him ; on which account, I do not think it right for you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy’s city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple ; I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God ; and the one of them I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you that dwell nearest those cities may go to them, and worship God there : and I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron ; but let him that is desirous among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron, the first priest, brought also.” When Jeroboam had said this, he deluded the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate those things in their proper places hereafter.

5. When the feast [of tabernacles] was just approaching, Jeroboam was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as did the two tribes celebrate it in Jerusalem. Accordingly, he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be the high-priest himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him : but when he was going to offer the sacrifices, and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of all the people,

*Whether these *fountains of the Lesser Jordan* were near a place called *Dan*, and the fountains of the *Greater*, nearer a place called *Jor*, before their conjunctions ; or whether there was only one fountain, arising at the lake Phiala, at first sinking under ground, and then arising near the mountain Paneum, and thence, running through the lake Somachonitis to the sea of Galilee, and so far called the *Lesser Jordan*, is hardly certain even in Josephus himself, though the latter account be the most probable. However, the northern idolatrous calf, set up by Jeroboam, was where Little Jordan fell into Great Jordan, near a place called *Daphnae*, as Josephus elsewhere informs us. Of the War. B. iv. ch. i. § 1. See the note there.

a prophet, whose name was *Jadon*, was sent by God, and came to him from Jerusalem, who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the hearing of the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, said thus : “ God foretells that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, *Josiah* by name, who shall slay upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and upon thee shall burn the bones of those deceivers of the people, those impostors and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe that these things shall come to pass, I foretell a sign to them that shall also come to pass : this altar shall be broken to pieces immediately, and all the fat of the sacrifices that is upon it shall be poured upon the ground.” When the prophet had said this, *Jeroboam* fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and bid them lay hold of him ; but that hand which he stretched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in again to him, for it was become withered, and hung down, as if it were a dead hand. The altar also was broken to pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out, as the prophet had foretold should come to pass. So the king understood that he was a man of veracity, and had a divine foreknowledge ; and entreated him to pray unto God that he would restore his right hand. Accordingly, the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. So the king having his hand recovered to its natural state, rejoiced at it, and invited the prophet to sup with him ; but *Jadon* said, that “ he could not endure to come into his house, nor to taste of bread or water in this city, for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do ; as also to go back by the same way which he came, but he said he was to return by another way.” So the king wondered at the abstinence of the man, but was himself in fear, as suspecting a change of his affairs for the worse, from what had been said to him.

CHAP. IX.

How Jadon the prophet was persuaded by another lying prophet, and returned [to Bethel,] and was afterward slain by a lion ; as also what words the wicked prophet made use of to persuade the king, and thereby alienated his mind from God.

§ 1. Now there was a certain wicked man in that city, who was a false prophet, whom *Jeroboam* had in great esteem, but was deceived by him, and his flattering words. This man was bed-rid by reason of the infirmities of old age : however, he was informed by his sons concerning the pro-

phet, that was come from Jerusalem, and concerning the signs done by him ; and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been enfeebled, at the prophet's prayer he had it revived again. Whereupon he was afraid, that this stranger and prophet should be in better esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him, and he gave order to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready, that he might go out. Accordingly, they made haste to do what they were commanded ; and he got upon the ass, and followed after the prophet ; and when he had overtaken him, as he was resting himself under a very large oak-tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into the house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said, that "God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city," he replied, that "for certain, God had not forbidden that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost, and I am now come as sent by him, in order to bring thee into my house, and make thee my guest." Now Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and were merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said, that "he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands, and he told him what that punishment should be ; for he said, that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchres of his fathers." Which things came to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon, as one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jadon was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him, yet he did not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him, and kept him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travellers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body unto the city, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him ; and said that "all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true, and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injurious treatment after his death, the bones not being then to be distinguished asunder." But now, when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked, and an impious man, he goes to Jeroboam, and says to

him, "And wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow?" And when the king had related to him what had happened about the altar, and about his own hand, and gave him the names of a divine man, and an excellent prophet, he endeavoured, by a wicked trick, to weaken that his opinion, and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him, that "his hand was enfeebled by the labour it had undergone in supporting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting a while, it returned to its former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it." He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any thing in him of a prophet, nor spake any thing like one. When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from doing works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices: * and accordingly, he was to that degree injurious to God, and so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

 CHAP. X.

Concerning Rehoboam, and how God inflicted punishment for his impiety by Shishak, [king of Egypt.]

§ 1. Now Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who, as we said before, was king of the two tribes, built strong and large

* How much a larger and better copy Josephus had in this remarkable history of the true prophet of Judea, and his concern with Jeroboam, and with the false prophet of Bethel, than our other copies have, is evident at first sight. The prophet's very name, *Jadon*, or as the Constitutions call him, *Adonias*, is wanting in our other copies; and it is there, with no little absurdity, said that God revealed *Jadon*, the true prophet's death, not to himself, as here, but to the false prophet. Whether the particular account of the arguments made use of, after all, by the false prophet against his own belief, and his own conscience, in order to persuade Jeroboam to persevere in his idolatry and wickedness, than which more plausible could not be invented, was intimated in Josephus's copy, or in some other ancient books, cannot now be determined: our other copies say not one word of it.

cities, Bethlehem, and Etam, and Tekoa, and Bethzur, and Shoco, and Adullam, and Ip̄an, Maresha, and Ziph, and Adoriam, and Lachish, and Azekah, Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron : these he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin, and walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn and wine, and oil, and he furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance : moreover he put therein shields, and spears, for many ten thousand men. The priests also that were in all Israel, and the Levites, and if there were any of the multitude that were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem ; for they were not willing to be forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had made, and they augmented the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after he had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children born to him, he married also another of his own kindred, who was daughter of Absalom by Tamar, whose name was *Maachah*, and by her he had a son, whom he named *Abijah*. He had moreover many other children by other wives ; but he loved *Maachah* above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines ; and he had born to him twenty-eight sons, and threescore daughters ; but he appointed *Abijah*, whom he had by *Maachah*, to be his successor in the kingdom ; and intrusted him already with the treasures and the strongest cities.

2. Now I cannot but think, that the greatness of a kingdom, and its change into prosperity, often becomes the occasion of mischief, and of transgression to men ; for when Rehoboam saw that his kingdom was so much increased, he went out of the right way, unto unrighteous and irreligious practices, and he despised the worship of God, till the people themselves imitated his wicked actions ; for so it usually happens, that the manners of subjects are corrupted at the same time with those of their governors, which subjects then lay aside their own sober way of living, as a reproof of their governor's intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness, as if it were virtue, for it is not possible to show that men approve of the actions of their kings, unless they do the same actions with them. Agreeably whereto it now happened to the subjects of Rehoboam ; for when he was grown impious, and a transgressor himself, they endeavoured not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous ; but God sent *Shishak*, king of Egypt, to punish them for their unjust behaviour to-

wards him ; concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken, and applied his actions to Sesostris, for this Shishak, * in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, made an expedition [into Judea] with many ten thousand men, for he had one thousand two hundred chariots in number that followed him, and three-score thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand footmen : these he brought with him, and they were the greatest part of them Lybians and Ethiopians. Now, therefore, when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews. he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom without fighting ; and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem:

3. Now when Rehoboam, and the multitude with him, were shut up in Jerusalem by the means of the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side : but Shemaia the prophet told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had themselves forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in a consternation of mind, and seeing no way of deliverance; they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly overlook them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had let his laws lie in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledged their sins, he told the prophet, that he would not destroy them, but that he would, however, make them servants to the Egyptians, that they may learn whether they will suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable ten thousands of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the bucklers of gold, and the shields, which Solomon the king had made : nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah, and had dedicated to God ; and when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name ; and [in saying that] he made war upon many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection, and took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest, that he in-

* That this Shishak was not that same person with the famous Sesostris, as some have very lately, in contradiction to all antiquity, supposed, and that our Josephus did not take him to be the same as they pretend, but that Sesostris was many centuries earlier than Shishak. See Authent. Records, part ii. p. 1024.

tended to declare that our nation was subdued by him ; for he saith, that “ he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women.” Now our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal, that “ the Ethiopians * learned to circumcise their privy parts from the Egyptians, with this addition, that the Phœnicians and Syrians that live in Palestine, confess that they learned it of the Egyptians.” Yet it is evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine besides us alone are circumcised ; but as to such matters let every one speak what is agreeable to his own opinion.

4. When Shishak was gone away, king Rehoboam made bucklers and shields of brass, instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king’s palace ; so, instead of warlike expeditions, and that glory which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, as being always an enemy to Jeroboam, and he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and foolish man, and lost [part of] his dominion by not hearkening to his father’s friends. He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of the kings ; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, and this in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam’s reign over the ten tribes ; and this was the conclusion of these affairs. It must be now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life ; for he ceased not, nor rested to be injurious to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests out of the multitude.

* Herodotus, as here quoted by Josephus, and as this passage still stands in his present copies, B. ii. ch. 104, affirms, that “ the Phœnicians and Syrians in Palestine, [which last are generally supposed to denote the Jews,] owned their receiving circumcision from the Egyptians ;” whereas it is abundantly evident, that the Jews received their circumcision from the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvi. 9—14. John vii. 22, 23, as I conclude the Egyptian priests themselves did also. It is not, therefore, very unlikely that Herodotus, because the Jews had lived long in Egypt, and came out of it circumcised, did thereupon think they had learned that circumcision in Egypt, and had it not before. Manetho, the famous Egyptian chronologer and historian, who knew the history of his own country much better than Herodotus, complains frequently of his mistakes about their affairs, as does Josephus more than once in this chapter : nor indeed does Herodotus seem at all acquainted with the affairs of the Jews ; for as he never names them, so little or nothing of what he says about them, their country, or maritime cities, two of which he alone mentions, Cadytis and Jenysus, proves true ; nor indeed do there appear to have been any such cities on their coast.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the death of a son of Jeroboam's. How Jeroboam was beaten by Abijah, who died a little afterward, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Asa. And also how, after the death of Jeroboam, Baasha destroyed his son Nadab, and all the house of Jeroboam.

§ 1. HOWEVER, God was in long time ready to return Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the heads of all his house: and whereas a son of his lay sick at that time, who was called *Abijah*, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to *Abijah* the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling futurities, it having been he who told me that I should be king. He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, as if she were a stranger, whether he should escape this distemper. So she did as her husband bade her; and changed her habit, and came to the city *Shiloh*, for there did *Abijah* live: and as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things, that the wife of *Jeroboam* was come to him, and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly as the woman was coming into the house like a private person, and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, O thou wife of *Jeroboam*! Why concealest thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast coming, and hath given me in command what I shall say to thee." So he said, that "she should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus: since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather was nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of *David*, and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of the benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods, and honoured them, I will in like manner, cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls: for a certain king is rising up, by my appointment, over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of *Jeroboam* remaining. The multitude also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond *Euphrates*, because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, make haste back to thy husband, and

tell him this message ; but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life ; yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the multitude, and honoured with a general mourning, for he is the only person of goodness of Jeroboam's family." When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman went hastily away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the fore-named child : so she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the death of her son that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition, at the unavoidable misery of his death, and went apace, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son, for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. Accordingly, when she was come back, she found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said ; and she related all the circumstances to the king.

2. Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes, for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth, and to the hopes of his enemy, so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam, at a place called mount *Zemaraim*, and pitched his camp near the others, and prepared every thing necessary for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double to it. Now as the armies stood in array ready for action, and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and, beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude, and Jeroboam himself, to hear first with silence what he had to say : and when silence was made, he began to speak, and told them, " God had consented that David and his posterity should be their rulers for all time to come, and this you yourselves are not unacquainted with ; but I cannot but wonder how you should forsake my father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and are now here with him to fight against those who, by God's own determination are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which they have still retained, for as to the greater part of it Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer, but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks

due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and which he hath still continued to offer, and hath persuaded you to do the same ; yet when you were not any farther unjustly treated by my father, than that he did not speak to you so as to please you, and this only in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger forsook him, as you pretended, but, in reality, you withdrew yourselves from God, and from his laws, though it had been right for you to have forgiven a man that was young in age and not used to govern people, not only some disagreeable words, but if his youth and his unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions, and that for the sake of his father Solomon and the benefits you received from him, for men ought to excuse the sins of posterity on account of the benefactions of parents : but you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, but come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory ? Is it upon these golden heifers, and the altars that you have on high places, which are demonstrations of your impiety, and not of religious worship ? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army which gives you such good hopes ? Yet certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many ten thousands when the war is unjust, for we ought to place our surest hope of success against our enemies in righteousness alone, and in piety towards God ; which hope we justly have since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter ; nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to deceive the multitude, but who is * his own workmanship, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore give you counsel even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the war ; and to call to mind the laws of your country ; and to reflect what it hath been that hath advanced you to so happy a state as you are now in."

3. This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he was still speaking, Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to encompass Abijah round about, on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of ; and when he was thus within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, and their courage failed them, but Abijah en-

* This is a strange expression in Josephus, that *God is his own workmanship*, or that *he made himself*, contrary to common sense, and to catholic christianity ; perhaps he only means that he was *made by no one*, but was *originated*.

couraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes on God, for that he was not encompassed by the enemy. So they all at once implored the divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpets, and they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake the courage, and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Abijah's army superior to them, for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a * slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army, as is never recorded to have happened in any other war, whether it were of the Greeks, or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew [and slew] five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoiled them; and besides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this defeat, Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters; and he had also those children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded in the kingdom; and the young man's mother was Michaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

5. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history hath come down to us: but Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, died when he had governed them two and twenty years; whose son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. Now Jeroboam's son governed two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In these two years he made an expedition against Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines, and continued the siege in order to take it; but he was conspired against while he was there, by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Abijah, and was slain; which Baasha, took the kingdom after the other's death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold; that some of Jeroboam's kindred that

* By this terrible, and perfectly unparalleled slaughter of 500,000 men of the newly idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes, God's high displeasure and indignation against that idolatry and rebellion fully appeared, the remainder were thereby seriously cautioned not to persist in them, and a kind of balance or equilibrium was made between the ten and the two tribes for the time to come; while otherwise the perpetually idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes would naturally have been too powerful for the two tribes, which were pretty frequently free both from such idolatry and rebellion; nor is there any reason to doubt of the truth of this prodigious number slain upon so signal an occasion.

died in the city, were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, and that others of them, that died in the fields, were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety, and of his wicked actions.

CHAP. XII.

How Zerah, king of the Ethiopians, was beaten by Asa: and how Asa, upon Baasha's making war against him, invited the king of the Damascenes to assist him; and how, on the destruction of the house of Baasha, Zimri got the kingdom, as did his son Ahab after him.

§. 1. Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designed any thing but what had a relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, that bore shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had already reigned ten years, Zerah king of Ethiopia, * made an expedition against him, with a great army of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him, in a valley called *Zephathag*, not far from the city, and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give them the victory, and that he might kill many ten thousands of the enemy: "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zera, and fight him."

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar: and when they had left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them, (for

* The reader is to remember, that *Cush* is not *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia*. See Bochart, B. iv, ch. ii.

the city Gerar was already taken,) and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold, and much silver, and a great deal of [other] prey, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly, when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now as they were coming, a prophet, whose name was *Azariah*, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to say to them thus: that “the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had showed themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God: that, therefore, he said, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily; but that if they left off his worship, all things shall fall out on the contrary; and a time should come, wherein no true prophet shall be left in your whole multitude, nor priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle: but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wanderers.” So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws also.

3. * And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the government. He dwelt in the city Tirezah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude, and was injurious to God, who sent the prophet Jehu and told him beforehand, that “his whole family should be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house, which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin, because when he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness by governing the multitude righteously and religiously; which things in the first place, tended to their own happiness, and in the next place, were pleasing to God; that he had imitated this very wicked king Jeroboam; and although that man’s soul had perished, yet did he express to the last his wicked-

* Here is a very great error in our Hebrew copy in this place,² Chr. xvi. 3—6, as applying what follows to times past, and not to times future; whence that text is quite misapplied by Sir Isaac Newton.

ness : and he said, that he should, therefore, justly experience the like calamity with him, since he had been guilty of the like wickedness." But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him, and his whole family, for their insolent behaviour, yet did not he leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear to be other than worse and worse till he died ; nor did he then repent of his past actions, nor endeavour to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those do who have rewards proposed to them, when they have once in earnest set about their work, they did not leave off their labours ; for thus did Baasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the perdition of his family, and the destruction of his house, (which are really among the greatest of evils,) were good things ; and as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains for it : and at last he took his army, and assaulted a certain considerable city called *Ramah*, which was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, and when he had taken it, he fortified it, having determinèd beforehand to leave a garrison in it, that they might thence make excursions, and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

4. Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts the enemy might make upon him, and considering with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in *Ramah* might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascenes, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in mind that we have had a friendship together from the times of our forefathers. So he gladly received that sum of money, and made a league with him, and broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces unto the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others. *Ijon*, and *Dan*, and *Abelmaim*,* and many others. Now

* This *Abelmaim*, or in Josephus's copy, *Abellare*, that belonged to the land of Israel, and bordered on the country of Damascus, is supposed, both by Hudson and Spanheim, to be the same with *Abel* or *Abila*, whence came *Abeline*. This may be that city so denominated from *Abel* the righteous there buried, concerning the shedding of whose blood within the compass of the land of Israel, I understand our Saviour's words, about the fatal war and overthrow of Judea by Titus and his Roman army, *That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the land, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation.* Matt. xxiii. 35, 36. Luke xi. 51.

when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned presently to assist his own people under the distresses they were in : but Asa made use of the materials that were prepared for building that city, for building in the same place two strong cities, the one of which he called Geba, and the other Mizpah : so that after this, Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city Tirzah ; and Elah his son took the kingdom, who, when he had reigned two years, died, being treacherously slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army ; for when he was at Arza, his steward's house, he persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to assault Elah, and by that means he slew him when he was without his armed men, and his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines.

5. When Zimri, the captain of the army, had killed Elah, he took the kingdom himself, and, according to Jehu's prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha ; for it came to pass that Baasha's house utterly perished on account of his impiety, in the same manner as we have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam ; but the army that was besieging Gibbethon, when they heard what had befallen the king, and that when Zimri had killed him, he had gained the kingdom, they made Omri their general king, who drew off his army from Gibbethon, and came to Tirzah, where the royal palace was, and assaulted the city, and took it by force. But when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend it, he fled into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself with it, when he had reigned only seven days. Upon which the people of Israel were presently divided, and part of them would have Tibni to be king, and part Omri ; but when those that were for Omri's ruling, had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the multitude. Now it was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Asa, that Omri reigned for twelve years ; six of these years he reigned in the city Tirzah, and the rest in the city called Semareon, but named by the Greeks Samaria ; but he himself called it Semareon, from Semer, who sold him the mountain whereupon he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him, but that he grew worse than they, for they all sought how they might turn the people away from God by their daily wicked practices ; and on that account it was that God made one of them to be slain by another, and that no one person of their families should remain. This Omri also died at Samaria ; and Ahab his son succeeded him.

6. Now by these events we may learn what concern God hath for the affairs of mankind, and how he loves good men, and hates the wicked, and destroys them root and branch : for many of these kings of Israel, they and their families, were miserably destroyed, and taken away one by another, in a short time, for their transgressions and wickedness ; but Asa, who was king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and a blessed old age, for his piety and righteousness, and died happily when he had reigned forty and one years ; and when he was dead, his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him in the government. He was born of Asa's wife Azubah. And all men allowed that he followed the works of David his forefather, and this both in courage and piety ; but we are not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

CHAP. XIII.

How Ahab, when he had taken Jezebel to wife, became more wicked than all the kings that had been before him. Of the actions of the prophet Elijah : and what befell Naboth.

§ 1. Now Ahab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty-two years ; and made no alteration in the conduct of the kings that were his predecessors, but only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behaviour towards God, and most especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam : for he worshipped the heifers that he had made ; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship besides those heifers ; he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was *Jezebel*, of whom he learned to worship their own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impurity and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, which they call *Belus*, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees ; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all [the kings] that went before him.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Thesbon, a country in Gilead, that came to Ahab, and said to him, that " God foretold he would not send rain nor dew in those years upon the country, but when he should appear." And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the

southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink ; for as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day ; but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for [God told him] that he should there find a woman who was a widow, that should give him sustenance : so when he was not far off the city, he saw a woman that laboured with her own hands, gathering sticks ; so God informed him that this was the woman who was to give him sustenance ; so he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring him some water to drink ; but as she was going so to do, he called to her, and would have her bring him a loaf of bread also : whereupon she affirmed on oath, that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal, and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son ; after which, she said, they must perish, and be consumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Hereupon he said, “ Go on with good courage, and hope for better things ; and, first of all, make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to thee that this vessel of meal, and this cruise of oil, shall not fail, until God send rain.” When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made him the before-named cakes ; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also : nor did any thing of this fail, until the drought ceased. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians ; where he says thus : “ Under him there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetaeus till the month Hyperberetaeus of the year following ; but when he made supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city Betrys in Phœnicia, and the city Auza in Lybia.” By these words he designed this want of rain that was in the days of Ahab, for at that time it was that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

3. Now this woman, of whom we spake before, that sustained the prophet, when her son was fallen into a distemper till he gave up the ghost, and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weeping, and beating her breast with her hands, and sending out such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained to him, that he had come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that on this account it was that her son was dead. But he bid her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for that he would deliver him again to her alive. So when she had delivered her son up to him, he car-

ried him into an upper room, where he himself lodged, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said, that "God had not done well in rewarding the woman who had entertained him, and sustained him, by taking away her son, and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again." Accordingly, God took pity on the mother, and was willing to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to her to do her a mischief, and the child, beyond all expectation, came to life again. So the mother returned the prophet thanks, and said, she was then clearly satisfied that God did converse with him.

4. * After a little while, Elijah came to king Ahab, according to God's will, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon their whole country, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance, inso-much that it was not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also, which did not produce enough for the horses, and the other beasts, of what was useful for them to feed on, by reason of the drought: so the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and said to him, that "he would have him go to the fountains of water, and to the brooks, that if any herbs could be found for them, they might mow it down, and reserve it for the beasts." And when he had sent persons over all the † habitable earth to discover the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him, he bid Obadiah accompany him: so it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them, and Obadiah took one road, and the king another. Now it happened, that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden an hundred prophets, and had fed them with nothing but bread and water. But when Obadiah was alone and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him;

* Josephus, in his present copies, says that *a little while after* the recovery of the widow's son of Sarepta, God sent rain upon the earth; whereas, in our other copies, it is *after many days*, 1 Kings xviii. 1. Several years are also intimated there, and in Josephus, § 2, as belonging to this drought and famine; nay, we have the express mention of the *third year*, which I suppose was reckoned from the recovery of the widow's son, and ceasing of this drought in Phœnicia, (which, as Menander informs us here, lasted one whole year;) and both our Saviour and St. James affirm, that this drought lasted in all three years and six months, as their copies of the Old Testament then informed them. Luke iv. 25. James v. 17.

† Josephus here seems to mean, that this drought affected *all the habitable earth*, and presently *all the earth*: as our Saviour says it was *upon all the earth*, Luke iv. 25. They who restrain these expressions to the *Land of Judea* alone, go without sufficient authority or examples.

and Obadiah asked him who he was? and when he had learned it from him, he worshipped him. Elijah then bid him go to the king, and tell him, that I am here ready to wait on him. But Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seekest to kill thee, and hath sought over all the earth for thee? Or was he so ignorant as not to know, that the king had left no place untouched unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death?" For he told him he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place, and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should miss him, and not be able to find him any where upon earth, he should be put to death. He desired him, therefore, to take care of his preservation; and told him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, and had saved an hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed, and that they had been sustained by him: but Elijah bid him fear nothing, but go to the king; and he assured him upon oath, that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

5. So when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him in anger, "If he were the man that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought they lay under?" But Elijah, without any flattery, said, that "he was himself the man, he and his house, which brought such sad afflictions upon them, and that by introducing strange gods into their country, and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of regard to him." However, he bade him go his way, and gather together all the people to him to mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and those of his wife's, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And as all the men whom Ahab sent for ran away to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own country god to be the true and the only God, they would follow him and his commandments, but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his counsel was that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah desired, that for a trial of the power of the strange gods, and of their own God, he, who was his only

prophet while they had four hundred, might take an heifer and kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that they should do the same things, and call upon their own gods to set the wood on fire, for if that were done, they would thence learn the nature of the true God. This proposal pleased the people. So Elijah bid the prophets to choose out an heifer first, and kill it, and to call on their gods. But when there appeared no effect of the prayer or invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they might either be on a journey or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut * themselves with swords and lances, according to the customs of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bid [the prophets] go away, but bid [the people] come near and observe what he did, lest he should privately hide fire among the pieces of wood: so upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the people of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench; and when he had laid the pieces of wood upon the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the sacrifices, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to invoke him to make manifest his power to a people, that had already been in an error a long time: upon which words a fire came on a sudden from heaven, in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped one God, and called him the great and the only true God, but they called the others mere names, framed by the evil and wild opinions of men. So they caught their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any farther concern, for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly, Ahab went his way: but Elijah went upon the highest top of mount Carmel, and sat down on the ground, and leaned his head on his knees, and bade his servant go up to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud

* Mr. Spanheim takes notice here, that in the worship of Mithra, [the god of the Persians] the priests cut themselves in the same manner as did these priests in the invocation of Baal, [the god of the Phœnicians.]

rising any where, he should give him a notice of it, for till that time the air had been clear. When the servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said, that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man's foot. When Elijah heard this, he sent to Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the rain came down. So he came to the city Jezreel; and in a little time the air was all obscured, and covered with clouds, and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain: and the prophet was under a divine fury, and ran along with the king's chariot unto Jezreel, a city of Izar * [Issachar.]

7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was affrighted, and fled to the city called *Beer-sheba*, which is situate at the utmost limits of the country belonging to the tribe of Judea, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die, for that he was not better than his fathers, nor need he be very desirous to live when they were dead; and he lay and slept under a certain tree: and when somebody awakened him, and he was risen up, he found food set by him, and water; so when he had eaten, and re-collected his strength by that his food, he came to that mountain which is called Sinai, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it: but when a certain voice came to him, but from whence he knew not, and asked him, "Why he was come hither, and had left the city?" He said, that "because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone, whom they had worshipped from the beginning, was God, he was sought for by the king's wife, to be punished for so doing." And when he had heard another voice, telling him that he should come out the next day into the open air, and should thereby know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day accordingly, when he both heard an earthquake, and saw the bright splendour of fire; and after a silence made, a divine voice exhort-

* For Izar we may here read (with Hudson and Cocceius) *Issachar*, i. e. of the tribe of Issachar, for to that tribe did Jezreel belong: and presently at the beginning of § 8, as also ch. xv. § 4, we may read for *Izar*, with one MS. nearly, and the scripture, *Jezreel*, for that was the city meant in the history of Naboth.

ed him not to be disturbed with the circumstances he was in, for that none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to ordain Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over their own multitude; and Hazael, of Damascus, to be over the Syrians; and Elisha, of the city Abel, to be a prophet in his stead: and that of the impious multitude, some should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. So Elijah, upon hearing this charge, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And when he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and certain others with him driving twelve yoke of oxen, he came to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elisha began to prophesy presently, and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah gave him leave so to do: and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and the servant of Elijah all the days of his life. And thus have I despatched the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

8. Now there was one Naboth, of the city Izar [Jezreel,] who had a field adjoining to that of the king's; the king would have persuaded him to sell him that, his field, which lay so near to his own lands, at what price he pleased, that he might join them together and make them one farm, and if he would not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields in its stead. But Naboth said, he would not do so, but would keep possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an injury, when he could not get another man's possession, and he would neither wash himself, nor take any food; and when Jezebel asked him, what it was that troubled him, and why he would neither wash himself, nor eat either dinner or supper he related to her the perverseness of Naboth; and how, when he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted, and had not obtained what he desired. However, she persuaded him not to be cast down at this accident, but to leave off his grief, and to return to the usual care of his body, for that she would take care to have Naboth punished: and she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Israelites [Jezreelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast, and to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to have three bold men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and slay him in that manner. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus testified against, as the

queen had written to them, that he had blasphemed against God, and Ahab the king, and desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard on free cost. So Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay, to go to see Naboth's vineyard; but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and to say to him, that "he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly." And as soon as he came to him, and the king had said that he might do with him what he pleased, (for he thought it a reproach to him to be thus caught in his sin,) Elijah said, that "in that very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten up by dogs, both his own blood and that of his wife's should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the law of his country. Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them, and he put on sackcloth, and went * barefoot, and would not touch any food; he also confessed his sins, and endeavoured thus to appease God. But God said to the prophet, that "while Ahab was living, he would put off the punishment of his family, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that still he would fulfil his threatening under Ahab's son." Which message the prophet delivered to the king.

CHAP. XIV.

How Hadad, king of Damascus and of Syria, made two expeditions against Ahab, and was beaten.

§ 1. WHEN the affairs of Ahab were thus, at that very time the son of Hadad [Benhadad,] who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his auxiliaries; so he made an expedition against Ahab; but because Ahab's army was not like that of Benhadad's, he did not set it in array to fight him, but having shut up every thing that was in the country in the strongest cities he had, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very

* "The Jews weep to this day, (says Jerom, here cited by Reland,) and roll themselves upon sackcloth in ashes, barefoot, upon such occasions." To which Spanheim adds, "That after the same manner Berenice, when his wife was in danger, stood at the tribunal of Florus barefoot." Of the War, B. ii. ch. ix. § 1. vol. v. See the like of David, 2 Sam. xv. 30. Antiq. B. ii. ch. ix. § 2.

strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent an herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So upon the king of Israel's permission for him to send, those ambassadors came, and, by their king's command, spake thus; "That Ahab's riches, and his children, and his wives, were Benhadad's: and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege." Upon this Ahab bid the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king, that "both he himself, and all that he hath, are his possessions." And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent to him again, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his which he should send the next day, and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send, whatsoever, upon their searching his palace, and the houses of his friends, and kindred, they should find to be excellent in its kind, but that what did not please them they should leave to him. At this second embassy of the king of Syria, Ahab was surprised, and gathered together the multitude to a congregation, and told them, that "for himself he was ready, for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassy; but that now he desires to send his servants to search all their houses, and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in its kind, seeking an occasion of fighting against him, as knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for your sakes, but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers concerning you, to bring war upon us: however, I will do what you shall resolve is fit to be done." But the multitude advised him to hearken to none of his proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors this answer, to be reported, that "he still continued in the mind to comply with what terms he at first desired for the safety of the citizens, but as for his second desires, he cannot submit to them," he dismissed them.

2. Now when Benhadad heard this, he had indignation, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened, that "his army would raise a bank higher than those walls, in confidence of whose strength he despised him and

that by only each man of his army taking a handful of earth ; hereby making a show of the great number of his army. and aiming to affright him. Ahab answered, that “ he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armour, but when he should have conquered his enemies in the battle.” So the ambassadors came back, and found the king at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab’s answer ; who then immediately gave order for proceeding thus : to make lines rounds the city, and raise a bulwark, and to prosecute the siege all manner of ways. Now, as this was doing, Ahab was in great agony, and all his people with him ; but he took courage, and was freed from his fears, upon a certain prophet’s coming to him, and saying to him, that “ God had promised to subdue so many ten thousands of his enemies under him.” And when he inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained, he said, “ By the sons of the princes, but under thy conduct, as their leader, by reason of their unskilfulness [in war.”] Upon which he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred thirty and two persons. So when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes’ sons. Now when the sentinels told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, that “ if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him, and that if they came out peaceably, they should do the same.” Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls, but the sons of the princes fell upon the out-guard, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp : and when the king of Israel saw that these had the upper hand, he sent out all the rest of his army, which falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out : on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked, * and drunk,

* Mr. Reland notes here very truly, that the word *naked*, does not always signify *entirely naked*, but sometimes without men’s usual armour, without their usual robes or upper garments : as when Virgil bids the husbandman plough *naked*, and sow *naked* ; when Josephus says, Antiq. B. iv. ch. iii. § 2, that God had given the Jews the security of armour when they were *naked* ; and when he here says, that Ahab fell on the Syrians when they were *naked and drunk* ; when, Antiq. B. xi. ch. v. § 8, he says, that Nehemiah commanded those Jews that were building the walls of Jerusalem, to take care to have their armour on upon occasion, that the enemy might not fall upon them *naked*. I may add that the case seems to be the same in the scripture, when it says, that Saul lay down *naked* among the prophets, 1 Sam. xix. 24, when it says, that Isaiah walked *naked and barefoot*, Isaiah xx. 2, 3, and when it says, that Peter, before he girt his fisher’s coat to him, was *naked*, John xxi. 7.

insomuch, that they left all their armour behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself escaped with difficulty, by flying away on horseback; but Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians; and when he had spoiled their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and moreover a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city; but as the prophet told him, that he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab was busy in making provision for it accordingly.

3. Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself, and as much of his army as he could, out of the battle, he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Now those friends advised him not to fight with them on the hills, because their God was potent in such places, and thence it had come to pass that they had very lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they should beat them. They also gave him this farther advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his auxiliaries, but to retain their army, and to set captains over it instead of the kings, and to raise an army out of their country, and let them be in the place of the former who perished in the battle, together with horses and chariots. So he judged their counsel to be good, and acted according to it in the management of the army.

4. At the beginning of the spring, Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews, and when he was come to a certain city which was called *Aphék*, he pitched his camp in the great plain. Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp over against him, although his army was a very small one, if it were compared with the enemies: but the prophet came again to him, and told him, that "God would give him the victory, that he might demonstrate his own power to be not only on the mountains, but on the plains also;" which it seems was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their camp seven days, but on the last of those days, when the enemies came out of their camp, and put themselves in array, in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his own army, and when the battle was

What is said of David also gives light to this, who was reproached by Michal, for dancing before the ark, and uncovering himself in the eyes of the handmaids, as one of the vain fellows shamefully uncovereth himself, 2 Sam. vi. 14, 20, yet it is there expressly said, ver. 14, that *David was girded with a linen ephod*, i. e. he had laid aside his robes of state, and put on the sacerdotal, Levitical, or sacred garments, proper for such solemnity.

joined, and they fought valiantly, he put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them; and they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another: nor could any more than a few of them escape to their own city Aphek, who were also killed by the walls falling upon them, being in number * twenty-seven thousand. Now there were slain in this battle an hundred thousand more: but Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground: and when these told him, that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they came to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, with † ropes about their heads, [for this was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,] and said, that “Benhadad desired he would save him, and that he would ever be a servant to him for that favour.” Ahab replied, “He was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle.” And he further promised him the same honour and kindness that a man would show to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him he should receive no harm from him, and then went and brought him out of the cellar wherein he was laid, and brought him to Ahab as he sat in his chariot. So Benhadad worshipped him; and Ahab gave him his hand, and made him come up to him into his chariot, and kissed him, and bid him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any mischief should be done to him. So Benhadad returned him thanks, and professed that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life; and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the former kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had to come to Sama-

* Josephus's number, two myriads and seven thousand, agrees here with that in our other copies, as those that were slain by the falling down of the walls of Aphek; but I suspected at first that this number in Josephus's present copies could not be his original number, because he calls them ΟΛΙΓΟΙ, *a few*, which could hardly be said of so many as 27,000, and because of the improbability of the fall of a particular wall's killing so many; yet when I consider Josephus's next words, how the rest which were slain in the battle were *ten other myriads*, that 27,000 are but *a few* in comparison of 100,000; and that it was not *a wall*, as in our English version, but *the wall*, or *the entire walls* of the city, that fell down, as in all the originals.

† This manner of supplication for men's lives among the Syrians, with ropes or halters about their heads, or necks, is, I suppose, no strange thing in later ages, even in our own country.

ria. So they confirmed their covenants by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

5. But a certain prophet, whose name was *Micaiah*,* came to one of the Israelites, and bid him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would please God; but when he would not do so, he foretold to him that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion, and be destroyed by him. When that sad accident had befallen the man, the prophet came again to another, and gave him the same injunction; so he smote him, and wounded his skull: upon which he bound up his head, and came to the king, and told him that he had been a soldier of his, and had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer, and that the prisoner being run away, he was in danger of losing his own life by means of that officer, who had threatened him, that if the prisoner escaped, he would kill him. And when Ahab had said, that he would justly die, he took off the binding about his head, and was known by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of the artifice as a prelude to his following words: for he said, that "God would punish him who had suffered Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would so bring it about, that he should die by the other's means, and his people by the other's † army." Upon which Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and gave command that he should be put in prison, and there kept: but for himself, he was in confusion at the words of Micaiah, and returned to his own house.

* It is here remarkable, that in Josephus's copy, this prophet, whose severe denunciation of a disobedient person's slaughter by a lion had lately come to pass, who was no other than Micaiah, the son of Imlah, who, as he now denounced God's judgment on disobedient Ahab, seems directly to have been that very prophet whom the same Ahab, in 1 Kings xxii. 8, 18, complains of, *as one whom he hated, because he did not prophesy good concerning him, but evil*, and who in that chapter openly repeats his denunciation against him: all which came to pass accordingly; nor is there any reason to doubt but this and the former were the very same prophet.

† What is most remarkable in this history, and in many histories on other occasions in the Old Testament, is this, that during the Jewish theocracy, God acted entirely as the supreme king of Israel, and the supreme general of their armies, and always expected that the Israelites should be in such absolute subjection to him, their supreme and heavenly king, and general of their armies, as subjects and soldiers are to their earthly kings, and generals, and that usually without knowing the particular reasons of their injunctions.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem ; and how Ahab made an expedition against the Syrians, and was assisted therein by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in battle, and perished therein.

§ 1. AND these were the circumstances in which Ahab was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, and had set garrisons in the cities of the country belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim, by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes, [than he did into the other :] but then he had God favourable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him, honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

2. Now, in the third year of his reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was so pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon, or affected with any thing so much, as the observation of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute, and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified the great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence. He prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armour, was three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adnah was the chief; but John was chief of two hundred thousand. The same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Jehozabad, who had an hundred and fourscore thousand armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king's service, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

3. Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife, the daughter of Ahab, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was

Athalia. And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn, and wine, and of slain beasts; and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city Ramoth, in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him: and upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him assistance, (for indeed his army was not inferior to the other's,) and his sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bid them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make that expedition at this time, for there was peace at that time between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

4. So Ahab called his own prophets, being in number about four hundred, and bid them inquire of God, whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city, for whose sake it was that he was going to war. Now these prophets gave their counsel for making this expedition: and said, that "he would beat the king of Syria, and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power." But Jehoshaphat, understanding by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab, whether there were not some other prophet, and he belonging to the true God, that we may have surer information concerning futurities? Hereupon, Ahab said, "There was indeed such an one, but that he hated him, as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome, and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah." But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent an eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said, that "it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak what he should say to him about the king, whatsoever it were." When he came to Ahab, and he had adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said, that "God had showed to him the Israelites running away and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as are flocks of sheep dispersed when

their shepherd is slain." He said farther, that " God signified to him, that those Israelites should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in the battle." When Micaiah had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, " I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that he ought to hear all, whatsoever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war, in hope of victory, whereas he must fight, and be killed." Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself: but Zedekiah, one of those false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which, he instanced in what Elijah* had said, who was a better prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah, for he foretold, that " the dogs should lick his blood in the city Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his means was there stoned to death by the multitude: that therefore it was plain that this Micaiah was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying, that he should be slain at three day's journey distance: and [said he] you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the divine spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jaddon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither when he would have caught him, for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria; for, as I suppose, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophet spake truer than the true one, that it might take an occasion of bringing him to this end. However, Zedekiah made horns of iron, and said to Ahab, that " God made those horns signals, that by them he should overthrow all Syria." But Micaiah replied, that " Zedekiah, in a few days, should go from one secret chamber to another to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying." Then did the king give order that they should take Micaiah

* These reasonings of Zedekiah the false prophet, in order to persuade Ahab not to believe Micaiah the true prophet, are plausible, but being omitted in our other copies, we cannot now tell whence Josephus had them, whether from his own temple copy, from some other original author, or from certain ancient notes. That some such plausible objection was now raised against Micaiah is very likely, otherwise Jehoshaphat, who used to disbelieve all such false prophets, could never have been induced to accompany Ahab in these desperate circumstances.

away, and guard him to Amon, the governor of the city, and to give him nothing but bread and water.*

5. Then did Ahab, and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem, take their forces, and marched to Ramoth, a city of Gilead: and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he brought out his army to oppose them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahab and Jehoshaphat had agreed, that Ahab * should lay aside his royal robes, but that the king of Jerusalem should put on his [Ahab's] proper habit, and stand before the army, in order to disprove, by this artifice, what Micaiah had foretold: but Ahab's fate found him out without his robes; for Benhadad, the king of Assyria, had charged his army, by the means of their commanders, to kill nobody else, but only the king of Israel. So when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites saw Jehoshaphat stand before the army, and conjectured that he was Ahab, they fell violently upon him, and encompassed him round; but when they were near, and knew that it was not he, they all returned back; and while the fight lasted from the morning light till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them: and when they sought to kill Ahab alone, but could not find him, there was a young nobleman belonging to the king Benhadad, whose name was *Naa-man*; he drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breast-plate in his lungs. Upon this Ahab resolved not to make his mischance known to his army, lest they should run away, but he bid the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was sorely and mortally wounded: however, he sat in his chariot, and endured the pain till sun-set, and then he fainted away and died.

6. And now the Syrian army, upon the coming on of the night, retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home: and they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot in

* This reading of Josephus's, that Jehoshaphat put on not his own but Ahab's robes, in order to appear to be Ahab, while Ahab was without any robes at all, and hoped thereby to escape his own evil fate, and disprove Micaiah's prophecy against him, is exceeding probable. It gives great light also to this whole history; and shows, that although Ahab hoped Jehoshaphat would be mistaken for him, and run the only risk of being slain in the battle, yet he was entirely disappointed, while still the escape of the good man Jehoshaphat, and the slaughter of the bad man Ahab, demonstrated the great distinction that divino providence made betwixt them.

the fountain of Jezreel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the harlots continued afterward to wash themselves in that fountain ; but still he died at Ramoth as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were foretold * should happen to Ahab by the two prophets came to pass, we ought thence to have high notions of God, and every where to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is worthy of belief before what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy, and that foreknowledge of future events, which is derived from it, since God shows men thereby what we ought to avoid. We may also guess from what happened to the king, and have reason to consider the power of fate, that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the place where it will be too hard for them. Accordingly, Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat, but by giving credit to such as foretold what was grateful to him, was slain ; and his son Ahaziah succeeded him.

* We have here a very wise reflection of Josephus's about divine providence, and what is derived from it, *prophecy*, and the inevitable certainty of its accomplishment ; and that when wicked men think they take proper methods to elude what is denounced against them, and to escape the divine judgment thereby threatened them, without repentance, they are ever by providence insatuated to bring about their own destruction, and thereby withal to demonstrate the perfect veracity of that God whose predictions they in vain endeavoured to elude.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 157 YEARS.

[From the death of Ahab to the captivity of the ten Tribes.]

CHAP. I.

Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he constituted Judges, and, by God's assistance, overcame his enemies.

§ 1. WHEN Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad, king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that "God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own proper disposition, which was good." Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God; after which, he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about, and taught the people, as well the laws which God gave them by Moses, and that religious worship that was due to him. He also constituted Judges for every one of the cities of his kingdom; and charged them "to have regard to nothing so much in judging the multitude, as in doing justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men, eminent for either their riches, or their high birth, but to distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is conscious of every secret action of theirs." When he had himself instructed them thus, and had gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted judges * out of the priests, and the Levites, and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice; and that if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they should send them out of the other

* These Judges constituted by Jehoshaphat, were a kind of Jerusalem sanhedrim, out of the priests, and the Levites, and the principal of the people, both here and 2 Chr. xix. 3, much like the old christian jurisdictions of the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the people.

cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city, wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care, and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest; and Zebadaiah, [both] of the tribe of Judah: and after this manner it was that the king ordered his affairs.

2. About the same time, the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situate at the lake Asphaltitis, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm-trees, and the opobalsamum.* Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was affrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple, and standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God, “to afford him power and strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them, (for that those who built this his temple had prayed, that he would protect that city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it,) for they are come to take from us that land which thou hast given us for a possession.” When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears, and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also: upon which a certain prophet, Jahaziel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and spake both to the multitude, and to the king, that “God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies.” He also gave order, that the king should draw his forces out the next day, for that he should find them between Jerusalem, and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called the *Eminence*, and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which was under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, that “they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and not to set themselves in array for fight-

* Concerning the precious balsam, see the note on Antiq. B. viii. ch. vi. § 6.

ing, but to set the priests, with their trumpets, and the Levites, with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered our country from our enemies." This opinion of the king pleased [the people,] and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and a commotion to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one man out of so great an army escaped: and when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein their enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event, as was this assistance of God, while he himself, with his own power, and without their labour, had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to take the prey of the enemies' camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together, unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance, from which the place had this name given it, *The valley of [Berachah or] blessing*.

4. And when the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he betook himself to celebrate festivals, and offer sacrifices, and this for many days. And indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly affrighted, as supposing that God would openly fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel: and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus,* and the traffic cities of Thrace; but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so great [and unwieldy:] on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem.

* What are here *Pontus* and *Thrace*, as the places whither Jehoshaphat's fleet sailed, are in our other copies *Ophir* and *Tarshish*, and the place whence it sailed, is in them *Eziongeber*, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was impossible for any ships to sail to Pontus or Thrace; so that Josephus's copy differed from our other copies, as is farther plain from his own words, which render what we read, that *the ships were broken at Eziongeber, from their unwieldy greatness*. But so far we may conclude, that Josephus thought one *Ophir* to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea, though perhaps there might be another *Ophir* in that South Sea also, and that fleets might then sail both from Phœnicia and from the Red Sea to fetch the *gold of Ophir*.

[CHAP. II.

Concerning Ahaziah the king of Israel ; and again concerning the prophet Elijah.

§ 1. AND now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and, in all respects, like to both his parents, and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. On the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly, * which was the god of Ekron, for that was the god's name, to inquire about his recovery : but the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them, " Whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery ? and to bid them to return and tell the king, that he would not escape this disease." And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately : and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, that " a certain man met them, and forbade them to go any further, but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad end." And when the king bid them describe the man that said this to them, they replied, that " he was an hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle of leather." So the king understood by this, that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah ; whereupon he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him : and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of an hill, he commanded him to come down, and come to the king, for so he had enjoined, but that in case he refused, they would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, " that you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that † fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers

* This god of flies seems to have been so called, as was the like god among the Greeks, from his supposed power over flies, in driving them away from the flesh of their sacrifices, which otherwise would have been very troublesome to them.

† It is commonly esteemed a very cruel action of Elijah's, when he called for fire from heaven, and consumed no fewer than two captains,

and himself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell [from heaven] and destroyed the captain, and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would take him and carry him away, upon his prayer against him, the fire [from heaven] slew this captain as well as the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him; and said, that "he knew that it was without his own consent, and only in submission to the king's command, that he came to him; and that those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same account: he therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that were with him; and that he would come down and follow him to the king." So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behaviour, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him, and told him, that "God said, since thou hast despised him as not being God, and so unable to foretell the truth about thy distemper, but hast sent to the god of Ekron, to inquire of him what will be the end of this thy distemper, know this, that thou shalt die."

3. Accordingly, the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; but Jehoram, his brother, succeeded him in the kingdom, for he died without children; but for this Je-

and a hundred soldiers, and this for no other crime than obeying the orders of their king, in attempting to seize him; and it is owned, by our Saviour, that it was an instance of greater severity than the spirit of the New Testament allows, Luke ix. 54. But then we must consider, that it is not unlikely that these captains and soldiers believed that they were sent to fetch the prophet, that he might be put to death for foretelling the death of the king, and this while they knew him to be the prophet of the true God, the supreme king of Israel, (for they were still under the theocracy,) which was no less than impiety, rebellion, and treason, in the highest degree: nor would the command of a subaltern, or inferior captain, contradicting the command of the general, when the captain and the soldiers both knew it to be so, as I suppose, justify or excuse such gross rebellion and disobedience in soldiers at this day. Accordingly, when Saul commanded his guards to slay Ahimelech and the priests, at Nob, they knew it to be an unlawful command, and would not obey it, 1 Sam. xxij. 17. From which cases, both officers and soldiers may learn, that the commands of their leaders, or kings, cannot justify or excuse them in doing what is wicked in the sight of God, or in fighting in an unjust cause, when they know it so to be.

horam, he was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety towards God, for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods, but in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day ; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, but so that nobody knew that they died.

CHAP. III.

How Joram and Jehoshaphat made an expedition against the Moabites : as also concerning the wonders of Elisha ; and the death of Jehoshaphat.

§ 1. WHEN Joram had taken upon him the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was *Mesha*, for, as we told you before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother [Ahaziah,] while he paid to his father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep, with their fleeces of wool. When, therefore, he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father, he would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience ; who not only himself promised to assist him, but would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem ; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to take their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom : and when they had taken a compass of seven days' journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle, and for the army, from the mistake of their roads by the guides that conducted them, insomuch that they were all in an agony, especially Joram ; and cried to God, by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness had been committed by them, that induced him to deliver three kings together, without fighting, unto the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bid him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, that we might by him learn from God what we

should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said, that he had seen there Elisha the son of Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat : and when they were come at the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him, " what would become of the army ?" and Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that " he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophets, for they [to be sure] were true prophets," he still desired him to prophesy, and to save them. So he swore by God, that he would not answer him, unless it were on account of Jehoshaphat, who was a holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the divine spirit came upon him, as the music played; and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the valley ; for, said he, " though there appear neither cloud, nor wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this river full of water till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of it ; nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you shall * cut down their fruit-trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers."

2. When the prophet had said this, the next day, before the sun was risen, a great torrent ran strongly ; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three day's journey in Edom, so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently : and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when, at the rising of the sun, they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it,

* This practice of cutting down, or plucking up by the roots, the fruit-trees, was forbidden, even in ordinary wars, by the law of Moses, Deut. xx. 19, 20, and only allowed by God in this particular case, when the Moabites were to be punished and cut off in an extraordinary manner for their wickedness. See Jer. xlvii 11—13, and many the like prophecies against them. Nothing could, therefore, justify this practice but a particular commission from God by his prophet, as in the present case, which was ever a sufficient warrant for breaking any such ritual or ceremonial law whatsoever.

they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst; and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemies' camp, as supposing them destroyed already. But their hope deceived them, for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings fell into the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege, and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men, in order to break through the enemies' camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently; and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he lighted upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair, and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God, whom, when the kings saw, they commiserated their distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and outlived this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

CHAP. IV.

Jehoram succeeds Jehoshaphat, how Joram, his namesake, king of Israel, fought with the Syrians; and what wonders were done by the prophet Elisha.

§ 1. JEHOSEPHAT had a good number of children; but he appointed his eldest son, Jehoram, to be his successor, who had the same name with his mother's brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was come out of the land of Moab to Samaria, he

had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious, and worthy to be related, as we have them set down in the sacred books.

2. For they say that the widow * of Obadiah, Ahab's steward, came to him, and said, that "he was not ignorant how her husband had preserved the prophets that were to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab; for she said that he hid an hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance, and that after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and she desired of him to have mercy upon her, on account of what her husband did, and afford her some assistance." And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruise. So the prophet bid her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neighbours, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all, for that God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled, and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full: upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing to them, for that there would be some surplus of the price of the oil, which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

3. † Elisha also sent a hasty embassy to Joram, and ex-

* That this woman who cried to Elisha, and who in our Bible is styled *the wife of one of the sons of the prophets*, 2 Kings iv. 1, was no other than the widow of Obadiah, the good steward of Ahab, is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrast, and by the Rabbins, and others. Nor is that unlikely which Josephus here adds, that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those *hundred of the Lord's prophets, whom he maintained by fifty in a cave*, in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kings xvii. 4, which circumstances rendered it highly fit that the prophet Elisha should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her sons from the fear of that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to by the law of Moses, Levit. xxv. 39, Matt. xvii. 25, which he did accordingly, with God's help, at the expense of a miracle.

† Dr. Hudson, with very good reason, suspects, that there is no small defect in our present copies of Josephus, just before the beginning of this section, and that chiefly as to that distinct account which he had given us reason to expect in the first section, and to which he seems to refer, chap. viii. § 6, concerning the glorious miracles which Elisha wrought, which indeed in our Bibles are not a few, 2 Kings iv.—ix. but of which we have several omitted in Josephus's present copies. One of those histories, omitted at present, was evidently in his Bible, I mean that of the curing of Naaman's leprosy, 2 Kings v., for he plainly alludes to it, B.

horted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided his going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushment to Joram, and he sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had intrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemy. And when one that was present said, that "he should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels." So he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly, those that were sent, brought word that he was in Dothan; wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha; so they encompassed them round about by night, and kept him therein confined; but when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running and crying out after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly, God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his

iii. ch. xi. § 4, vol. i. where he observes, that "there were lepers in many nations, who yet have been in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples." But what makes me most to regret the want of that history in our present copies of Josephus, is this, that we have here, as it is commonly understood, one of the greatest difficulties in all the Bible, that in 2 Kings v. 18, 19; where Naaman, after he had been miraculously cured by a prophet of the true God, and had thereupon promised, ver. 17, that *He would henceforth offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord,* adds, *In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hands, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, when I bow down myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing. And Elisha said, Go in peace.* This looks like a prophet's permission for being partaker in idolatry itself, out of compliance with an idolatrous court,

fear, and his courage revived, at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this, Elisha did farther entreat God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, the prophet Elisha, he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight, and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divine and surprising; and as king Joram, asked the prophet, if he would give him leave to shoot at them, Elisha forbid him so to do; and said, that "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country no harm, but without knowing it were come thither by the divine power." So that his counsel was to treat them in an hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away, without hurting them.* Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.

4. Now when these men were come back, and had showed Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet, with whom God was so evidently present: so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram, who not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should

* Upon occasion of this stratagem of Elisha's in Josephus, we may take notice, that although Josephus was one of the greatest lovers of truth in the world, yet in a just war, he seems to have had no manner of scruple upon him by all such stratagems possible to deceive public enemies. See this Josephus's account of Jeremiah's imposition on the great men of the Jews in somewhat a like case, *Antiq. B. x. ch. vii. § 6*, and *1 Sam. xvi. 16, &c.*

take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine and the want of necessaries, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city : and the plenty of necessaries was brought so low with Joram, that from the extremity of want, an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dove's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy, by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards, to see whether any such were concealed among them ; and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing, and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means, prevented them. But upon a certain woman's crying out, " Have pity on me, my lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said, " He had neither threshing-floor, nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition." Upon which she said, " she did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice as to another woman." And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said, " she had made an agreement with the other woman, who was her neighbour and her friend, that because the famine and want was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of their own, and we will live upon them ourselves for two days, the one day upon one son, and the other day upon the other : and, said she, I have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son yesterday, but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her son." This story mightily grieved Joram when he heard it ; so he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded, and sent one away immediately to cut off his head, who made haste to kill the prophet : but Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him ; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them, that Joram, * who was the son of a murderer, had sent one to take

* This son of a murderer was Joram, the son of Ahab, which Ahab slew, or permitted his wife Jezebel to slay the Lord's prophets, and Naboth, 1 Kings xviii. 4. xxi. 19, and he is here called by this name, I suppose, because he had now also himself sent an officer to murder him :

away his head ; but, said he, “ when he that is commanded to do this comes, take care that you do not let him come in, but press the door against him, and hold him fast there, for the king himself will follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind.” Accordingly, they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came ; but Joram repented of his wrath against the prophet, and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet : and when he came to him, he accused him that he did not pray to God for their deliverance from the miseries they now lay under, but saw them so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seahs of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions ; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them : but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king’s, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, “ Thou talkest of incredible things, O prophet ! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so is it impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass.” To which the prophet made this reply. “ Thou shalt see these things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a partaker of them.”

5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold came to pass in the manner following : there was a law * at Samaria, that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city ; and there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the extremity of the famine : and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered, that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine, as also, that if they stayed where they were, they should suffer in the

yet is Josephus’s account of Joram’s coming himself at last, as repenting of his intended cruelty, much more probable than that in our copies, 2 Kings vi. 33, which rather implies the contrary.

* This law of the Jews, for the exclusion of lepers out of the camp in the wilderness, and out of cities in Judea, is a known one, Levit. xiii. 46, and Numb. v. 1—4.

same manner, they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live, but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemies' camp. Now God had begun to affright and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said, that "Joram, the king of Israel, had hired for auxiliaries, both the king of Egypt, and the king of the Islands, and led them against them, for they heard the noise of them as they were coming." And Benhadad believed what they said, (for there came the same noise to his ears, as well as it did to theirs,) so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also, and betook themselves to flight; and those lepers who had departed from Samaria, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence; accordingly, they entered into it, and went hastily into one of their tents, and when they saw nobody there, they eat and drank, and carried garments, and a great quantity of gold, and hid it out of the camp; after which, they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they four several times, without the least interruption from any body: so they gathered thereby that the enemies were departed; whereupon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram, and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did these tell the king's guards, by whose means Joram came to know of it; who then sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, that "he suspected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And when a certain person said, that "he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country, as far as Jordan, that if they were

seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortune; and, said he, those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing they be caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any enemies, but found it full of provisions, and of weapons, that they had therefore thrown away and left behind them, in order to their being light and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which gain of theirs was not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and flocks of all kinds of cattle. They also possessed themselves of [so many] ten thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two seahs of barley were bought for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha: now a seah is equal to an Italian modius and an half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that he might prevent the too great crowd of the multitude, and they might not endanger one another to perish by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold such his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should soon have.

6. Hereupon, when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into this fear and disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily cast down at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed, he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger that threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels that carried the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king's palace supplied. He saluted him kindly, and said that "he was sent to him by king Benhadad, and brought presents with him in order to

inquire concerning his distemper, whether he should recover from it or not?" Whereupon the prophet bid him tell the king no melancholy news, but still he said he would die. So the king's servant was troubled to hear it; and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plenteously at his foresight of what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad. And when Hazael asked him, what was the occasion of this confusion he was in? he said, that "he wept out of his commiseration for the multitude of the Israelites, and what terrible miseries they will suffer by thee; for thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and wilt burn their strongest cities, and wilt destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and wilt rip up their women with child." And when Hazael said, "how can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" the prophet replied, "that God had informed him that he should be king of Syria." So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper; * but on the next day he spread a wet cloth, in the nature of a net, over him, and strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honoured to this day as gods, by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples, by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship † to these kings, and value themselves upon their antiquity;

* Since Elijah did not live to anoint Hazael king of Syria himself, as he was empowered to do, 1 Kings xix. 15, it was most probable now done in his name, by his servant and successor Elisha; nor does it seem to me otherwise, but that Benhadad immediately recovered of his disease, as the prophet foretold; and that Hazael, upon his being anointed to succeed him, though he ought to have staid till he died by the course of nature, or some other way of divine punishment, as did David for many years in the like case, was too impatient, and the very next day smothered or strangled him, in order to come directly to the succession.

† What Mr. Le Clerc pretends here, that it is more probable that Hazael and his son were worshipped by the Syrians, and people of Damascus till the days of Josephus, than Benhadad and Hazael, because under Benhadad, they had greatly suffered, and because it is almost incredible, that both a king, and that king's murderer, should be worshipped by the same Syrians, is of little force against those records, out of which Josephus drew his history, especially when it is likely that they thought Benhadad died of the distemper he laboured under, and not by Hazael's treachery. Besides, the reason that Josephus gives for this adoration, that these two kings had been great benefactors to the inhabitants of Damascus, and had built them temples, is too remote from the political suspicions of Le Clerc; nor ought such weak suspicions to be deemed of any force against authentic testimonies of antiquity.

nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

CHAP. V.

*Concerning the wickedness of Jehoram, king of Jerusalem.
His defeat, and death.*

§ 1. Now Jehoram, the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning, and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship: and it was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out his family, because of the promise he had made to David; however, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs to the propagation of impiety, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites, about that time, had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed farther. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad, as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

2. As he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle* from Elijah the prophet, which declared, that "God

* This epistle, in some copies of Josephus, is said to come to Joram from Elijah, with this edition, *for he was yet upon earth*, which could not be true of Elijah, who, as all agree, was gone from the earth about four years before, and could only be true of Elisha; nor perhaps is there any more mystery here, than that the name of Elijah has very anciently crept into the text instead of Elisha, by the copiers, there being nothing in any copy of that epistle peculiar to Elijah.

would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel: and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and righteous. And the prophet gave him notice in this epistle, what punishment he should undergo for these crimes, namely, the destruction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own wives and children; and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments, those his bowels falling out by the violence of the inward rottenness of the parts, in-somuch, that though he see his own misery, he shall not be able at all to help himself, but shall die in that manner." That it was which Elijah denounced to him in that epistle.

3. It was not long after this, that an army of those Arabians that lived near to Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoiled the country, and the king's house; moreover they slew his sons, and his wives: one only of his sons were left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was *Ahaziah*: after which calamity, he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while, (for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him,) and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body; I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that, therefore, he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight: and the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son *Ahaziah*.

CHAP. VI.

How Jehu was anointed king; and slew both Joram and Ahaziah: as also what he did for the punishment of the wicked.

§ 1. Now Joram, the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly, he made an expedition against it, with a great army; but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal; so he returned to have his wound healed in

Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, for their general; for he had already taken the city by force: and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians: but Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him, that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bid him take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said, that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen, and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil, and poured it on his head, and said, that "God ordained him to be king, in order to his destroying the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and no seed might remain of Ahab's family." So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains: and when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him? and added withal, that he was mad: he replied, you guess right, for the words he spake were the words of a madman; and when they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, "He had chosen him to be king over the multitude." When he had said this, every one of them* put off his garment, and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice, that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city Jezreel, in which city, as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Abaziah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see how he did after his wound, and this upon account of their kindred: but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram, and those with him on the sudden, he desired that none of their soldiers might

* Spanheim here notes, that this putting off men's garments, and strewing them under a king, was an eastern custom, which he had elsewhere explained.

run away, and tell to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel, and when he was come near, the watchman, whom Joram had set there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on: upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet him, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him, in what condition the army was? for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bid him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company and came along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did: and as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at last got upon the chariot himself, together with Abaziah, the king of Jerusalem, for as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being his relation. So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched * slowly, and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him, if all things were well in the camp? but Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch, and an harlot. Upon this the king fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, he turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Abaziah, we are fought against by deceit and treachery: but Jehu drew his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart; so Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in mind of the prophecy which Elijah

* Our copies say, that this *driving* of the chariots was like the driving of Jehu, the son of Nimshi; for he driveth furiously, 2 Kings ix. 20, whereas Josephus's copy, as he understood it, was this, that, on the contrary, Jehu marched slowly, and in good order. Nor can it be denied, that since there was interval enough for king Joram to send out two horsemen, one after another, to meet Jehu, and at length to go out with king Abaziah to meet him, and all this after he was come within sight of the watchman, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is greatly on the side of Josephus's copy or interpretation.

prophesied to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place, for that as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him: so he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo, and though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself, and stood upon a tower, and said, "He was a fine servant that had killed his master." And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was; and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower, and being thrown down, she besprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bid his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her, found nothing else remaining, but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

5. Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles, the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria, which said that "they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, for that they had abundance of chariots, and horses, and armour, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab." This he wrote to try the intentions of those of Samaria. Now when the rulers and those that had brought up the children, had read the letter, they were afraid; and considering that they were not at all able to oppose him, who had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him this answer, that "they owned him for their lord, and would do whatsoever he bade them." So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's

sons, and send them to him. Accordingly, the rulers sent for those that brought up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu. So they did whatsoever they were commanded, without omitting any thing at all, and put them up in wicker-baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates; and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that "he did himself make an expedition against his master [Joram,] and slew him, but that it was not he that slew all these: and he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house had perished, according as Elijah had foretold." And when he had farther destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whither they were going? they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah, for they knew not that he had slain them both: so Jehu gave orders that they should catch these, and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

6. After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was *Jehonadab*, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and make his entry with him into Samaria; and told him, that "he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets, and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and most pleasing sight to a good and righteous man to see the wicked punished." So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by this wile: for he gathered all the people together, and said, that "he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that his priests, and prophets, and servants might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god, and that if any of his priests were wanting,

they should be punished with death." Now Ahab's god was called *Baal* : and when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments ; and when they had received them, he went into the house [of Baal,] with his friend Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set fourscore men without, they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bid them slay the false prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disesteem. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword ; and burnt the house of Baal, and by that means purged Samaria of foreign customs, [idolatrous worship.] Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians ; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship, although when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden heifers. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by this prophet, that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations : and in this condition was Jehu at this time.

CHAP. VII.

How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for five [six] years, when Jehoiada, the high-priest, slew her, and made Jehoash, the son of Ahaziah, king.

§ 1. Now when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of the royal family, she endeavoured that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward ; and, as she thought, she had actually done it ; but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following ; Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was *Jehosheba*, and she was married to the high-priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found

Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse ; so she took him with her into a secret bed-chamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada, brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem, and the two tribes.

2. Now, on the seventh year, Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in asserting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery ; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners, went into all the country, and gathered together the priests, and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem to the high-priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, " This is your king, of that house which you know God hath foretold should reign over you for all time to come ; I exhort you, therefore, that one third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that the next part of you keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only. He also gave them this order besides, that a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should be so bold as to enter armed into the temple, and bid them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king." So these men obeyed what the high-priest advised them to, and declared the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened that armory which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons soever it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another's hands, and by that means

excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and made a noise, and cried, "God save the king."

3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult, and the acclamations, she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace with her own army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her, but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they were ordered by the high-priest to do, they hindered the armed men that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing upon a pillar, with the royal crown on his head, she rent her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavoured to deprive her of the government; but Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishment of this pernicious woman; and he gave order, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also: wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

4. Now as soon as what concerned Athaliah was by this stratagem after this manner despatched, Jehoiada called together the people, and the armed men, into the temple, and made them take an oath, that they would be obedient to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the safety of his government: after which, he obliged the king to give security [upon oath] that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses: they then ran to the house of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built, to the dishonour of the God of their fathers, and to the honour of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Matan, that had his priesthood; but Jehoiada intrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a-day, and to offer incense according to the law. He also ordained some of the Levites, with the porters, to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might come there.

5. And when Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoash out of the temple into the king's palace, and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people

shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days ; but the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoash was seven years old when he took the kingdom ; his mother's name was Zibiah, of the city Beer-sheba. And all the time that Jehoiada lived, Jehoash was careful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God ; and when he was of age, he married two wives, who were given to him by the high-priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Joash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Hazael makes an expedition against the people of Israel, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jehu dies, and Jehoahaz succeeds in the government. Jehoash, the king of Jerusalem, at first, is careful about the worship of God, but afterward becomes impious, and commands Zachariah to be stoned. When Jehoash [king of Judah] was dead, Amaziah succeeds him in the kingdom.

§ 1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites, and their king Jehu, and spoiled the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites, and Gadites, and to [the half tribe of] Manassites ; as also Gilead, and Bashan, burning and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on, and this without impeachment from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was under this distress ; nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and a despiser of holiness, and of the laws ; and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria ; and left Jehoahaz his son his successor in the government.

2. Now Jehoash, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God ; so he called Jehoiada, and bid him send the Levites and priests through all the country to require half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah, and her sons. But the high-priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money ; but on the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him, and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still commanded them to take care of the rebuild-

ing the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold; and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries, had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every day; but when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high-priest, Jehoiada, and king Joash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort; and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls, and basins, and cups, and other vessels, and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value: and these things were taken suitable care of as long as Jehoiada lived.

3. But as soon as he was dead, (which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous, and, in every respect, a very good man, and was buried in the king's sepulchres at Jerusalem, because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David,) king Jehoash betrayed his [want of] care about God. The principal men of the people, were corrupted, also, together with him, and offended against their duty, and what their constitution determined to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people, and sent prophets to testify to them what their actions were, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness: but they had gotten such a strong affection, and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had offered affronts to the laws, and had been so severely punished, they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold, bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression, to their former duty. But the king commanded that Zachariah, the son of the high-priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God had appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them, and to the king, that they should act righteously; and foretold to them, that if they would not hearken

to his admonitions, they should suffer an heavy punishment ; but as Zachariah was ready to die, he appealed to God as a witness of what he suffered, for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished after a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoash.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression : for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into his country, and when he had overthrown Gath, and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem ; upon which Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God, and of the kings [before him,] and took down the gifts that had been dedicated [in the temple] and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endangered, but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem : yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years ; and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one-and-twentieth year of the reign of Jehoash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices, as those that first had God in contempt ; but the king of Syria brought him low, and by expeditions against him, did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men, and fifty horsemen. He also took away from him his great cities, and many of them also. and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascenes. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hand of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly, God accepted of his repentance, instead of virtue ; and being desirous rather to admonish those that might repent, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

6. Now, after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem, and he retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a * good man, and in his disposition was not at all like to his father. Now at this time it was that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, was now fallen into a disease, the king of Israel came to visit him : and when he found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, “ to call him his father, and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting ; and that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his that were under their power : so he said, it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him.” As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bid the king bend a bow that was brought him ; and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands, and bid him shoot ; and when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, “ if thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayest recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father.” So when the king had heard that, he departed ; and a little while after the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteous-

* This character of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, that *he was a good man, and in his disposition not at all like to his father*, seems a direct contradiction to our ordinary copies, which says, 2 Kings xiii. 11, that *he did evil in the sight of the Lord ; and that he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, but he walked therein*. Which copies are here the truest, it is hard positively to determine. If Josephus's be true, this Joash is the single instance of a good king over the ten tribes ; if the other be true, we have not one such example. The account that follows, is in all copies, and supposes the king to have been then a good man, and no idolater, with whom God's prophets used not to be so familiar. Upon the whole, since it appears, even by Josephus's own account, that Amaziah, the good king of Judah, while he was a good king, was forbidden to make use of the 100,000 auxiliaries he had hired of this Joash, the king of Israel, as if he and they were then idolaters, 2 Chron. xxv. 6—9, it is most likely that these different characters of Joash suited the different parts of his reign, and that according to our common copies, he was at first a wicked king, and afterward was reclaimed, and became a good one, according to Josephus.

ness, and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory by the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such an one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time, certain robbers cast a man, whom they had slain, into Elisha's grave, and upon his dead body coming close to Elisha's body, it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while he was alive, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

7. Now upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash, king of Israel, made war; and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass, however, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

CHAP. IX.

How Amaziah made an expedition against the Edomites and Amalekites, and conquered them; but when he afterward made war against Joash, he was beaten, and not long after was slain; and Uziah succeeded in the government.

§ 1. Now in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem. His mother's name was *Jehoadden*, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceeding careful of doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Jehoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him; so he seized upon them all, and put them to death, yet did he execute no severity on their children, but acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this, he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired an hundred thousand of his soldiers for an hundred talents of silver.

for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites; but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries, but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey, and vast riches, from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismissal for an affront, as supposing that this would not have been done to them but out of contempt, they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth-horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

2. Now upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him, and said, that "he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people, who paid them honours, nor had delivered them from his hands, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captives, for that they had been carried to Jerusalem in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive, and led them thither." This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, "that he should indeed hold his peace: but foretold withal, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation." But Amaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence, he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and commanded "that he and all his people should be obe-

dient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon : and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion." To which message Joash returned this answer in writing : " King Joash to King Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress-tree in mount Lebanon, as also a thistle ; this thistle sent to the cypress-tree to give the cypress-tree's daughter in marriage to the thistle's son ; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trod down the thistle : and this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou growest so proud, as to bring dangers upon thyself, and upon thy kingdom."

3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offence against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy ; whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly, Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash overthrew a part of the wall, of the length of four hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive along with him : by which means, he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who, after this, had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah, because of his innovations in religion, and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was *Uzziah*.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Jeroboam, king of Israel, and Jonah the prophet; and how, after the death of Jeroboam, his son Zachariah took the government. How Uziah, king of Jerusalem, subdued the nations that were round about him; and what befell him when he attempted to offer incense to God.

§ 1. IN the fiftieth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam, the son of Joash, reigned over Israel, in Samaria, forty years. This king was guilty of * contumely against God, and became very wicked in worshipping of idols, and in many undertakings, that were absurd and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him, that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts, to the city Hamath, and on the southern, to the lake Asphaltitis, for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

2. Now I cannot but think it necessary for me, who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of this prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh, and when he was there, to publish in that city, how it should lose the dominion it had over the nations: but he went not, out of fear: nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa, and finding a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to Tarsus † in

* What I have above noted concerning Jehoash, seems to me to have been true also concerning his son Jeroboam II. viz. that although he began wickedly, as Josephus agrees with our other copies, and, as he adds, *was the cause of a vast number of misfortunes to the Israelites* in those his first years, (the particulars of which are unhappily wanting both in Josephus, and in all our copies) so does it seem to me that he was afterward reclaimed, and became a good king, and so was encouraged by the prophet Jonah, and had great success afterward, when God saved the Israelites by the hand of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, 2 Kings viv. 27, which encouragement by Jonah, and great successes, are equally observable in Josephus, and in the other copies.

† When Jonah is said in our Bibles to have gone to Tarshish, Jonah i. 3, Josephus understood it, that he went to *Tarshish in Cilicia*, or to the Mediterranean Sea, upon which Tarsus lay; so that he does not appear to have read the text, 1 Kings xxii. 48, as our copies do, that *ships of Tarshish* could lie at Eziongeber, upon the Red Sea. But as to Josephus's assertion, that Jonah's fish was carried by the strength of the cur-

Cilicia ; and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea, but Jonah lay still, and covered [in the ship,] without imitating any thing that the others did ; but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had * cast lots, the lot fell upon the prophet ; and when they asked him, Whence he came ? and what he had done ? he replied, that he was an Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God ; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm that was upon them. Now at the first, they durst not do so, as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man, who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition ; but at last, when their misfortune overbore them, and the ship was just going to be drowned, and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea ; upon which the sea became calm. It is also related, that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body ; and there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city of Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard ; and preached, that “ in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia.” And when he had published this, he returned. Now

rent, upon a storm, as far as the *Euxine Sea*, it is no way impossible : and since the storm might have driven the ship, while Jonah was in it, near to the Euxine Sea, and since in three more days, while he was in the fish's belly, that current might bring him to the Assyrian coast, and since withal that coast could bring him nearer to Nineveh, than could any coast of the Mediterranean, it is by no means an improbable determination in Josephus.

* This ancient piece of religion, of supposing there was *great sin* where there was *great misery*, and of casting lots to discover great sinners, not only among the Israelites, but among these heathen mariners, seems a remarkable remains of the ancient tradition which prevailed of old over all mankind, that providence used to interpose visibly in all human affairs, and never to bring, or at least not long to continue notorious judgments, but for notorious sins, which the most ancient book of Job, shows to have been the state of mankind for about the former 3000 years of the world, till the days of Job and Moses.

I have given this account about him as I found it written [in our books.]

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son Zachariah took his kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous, and magnanimous, and very laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls : after which expedition, he assaulted those Arabs that adjoined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He after this overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as to the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life ; for he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings his predecessors, as well as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places, and put garrisons into them, and dug many channels for conveyance of water. He had also many beasts for labour, and an immense number of cattle, for his country was fit for pasturage. He was also given to husbandry, and took care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of chosen men, in number three hundred and seventy thousand, who were goverued by general officers, and captains of thousands, who were men of valour, and of unconquerable strength, in number two thousand. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them, giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers, and breast-plates, with bows and slings ; and besides these, he made for them many engines of war for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers, and other instruments of that sort.

4. While Uzziah was in this state, and making preparations [for futurity,] he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolent, and this on account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that pow-

er, which is of eternal duration, (which consisted in piety towards God, and in the observation of his laws,) so he fell by occasion of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his fathers, which the splendour of that prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, while he was not able to govern himself well about them. Accordingly, when a remarkable day was come, and a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the holy garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high-priest, who had fourscore priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, and that "none besides the posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do." And when they cried out, that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace: in the mean time, a great * earthquake shook the ground, and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called *Eroge*, half the mountain broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now, as soon as the priests saw that the king's face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad distemper, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what befitted a man to have, and for that impiety against God, which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jotham took the government; after which, he died with grief and anxiety at what happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

* This account of an earthquake at Jerusalem, at the very same time when Uzziah usurped the priest's office, and went into the sanctuary to burn incense, and of the consequence of that earthquake, is entirely wanting in other copies, though it be exceeding like to a prophecy of Jeremiah's, now in *Zach. xiv. 4, 5*, in which prophecy, mention is made of *fleeing* from that earthquake, as they fled from this earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah: so that there seems to have been some considerable resemblance between these historical and prophetic earthquakes.

CHAP. XI.

How Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah, took the government over the Israelites; and how Pul, and Tiglath-Pileser, made an expedition against the Israelites; how Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah; and what things, Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians.

§ 1. Now when Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was *Shallum*, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city Tirezah, and heard of what had befallen Zachariah, removed thereupon with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphseh, but the citizens that were in it, shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him; but in order to be avenged on them, he burnt the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege: and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphseh had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity, for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers, who had been conquered by him. And after this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years: but when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by * exacting 50 drachmæ as poll-money for every head; after which he died, and was

* Dr. Wall, in his critical notes on 2 Kings xv. 20, observes, "That when this Menahem is said to have *exacted the money of Israel of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man 50 shekels of silver*, to give Pul, the king of Assyria, 1000 talents, this is the first public money raised by any [Israelite] king by a tax on the people; that they used before to raise it out of the treasures of the house of the Lord, or of their own house; that it was a poll-money on the rich men [and them only] to raise 353,000*l.* or as others count a talent 400,000*l.* at the rate of 6*l.* or 7*l.* per head: and that God commanded by Ezekiel, chap. xlv. 8, and 18, that no such thing should be done [at the Jews' restoration,] but the king should have land of his own.

buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled but two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one *Pekah*, the general of his horse, and the son of Remaliah, who laid snares for him. Now this *Pekah* held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man, and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was *Tiglath-Pileser*, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had overrun all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called *Galilee*, and *Kadesh*, and *Hazor*, he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

2. Now *Jotham*, the son of *Uzziah*, reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was *Jerusha*. This king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city, (for what parts soever wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and adorned them.) He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay tribute, an hundred talents, and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley, every year, and so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

3. Now there was at this time a prophet, whose name was *Nahum*, who spake after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians, and of Nineveh: “* Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion; so shall all her people be troubled, and tossed, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, stand, stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money; for a terrible con-

* This passage is taken out of the prophet *Nahum* ii. 8—13, and is the principal, or rather the only one, that is given us almost *verbatim*, but a little abridged, in all *Josephus's* known writings: by which quotation we learn, what he himself always asserts, viz. that he made use of the Hebrew original, [and not of the Greek version;] as also we learn, that his Hebrew copy considerably differed from ours. See all three texts particularly set down, and compared together, on the *Essay on the Old Testament*, p. 187.

tention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loosing of the members, and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear. And there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions! God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I here omit them, that I may not appear troublesome to my readers: all which things happened about Nineveh an hundred and fifty years afterward; so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

CHAP. XII. .

How, upon the death of Jotham, Ahaz reigned in his stead; against whom, Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, made war: and how Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, came to the assistance of Ahaz, and laid Syria waste, and removing the Damascenes into Media, placed other nations in their room.

§ 1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah, the king of Israel, who were now at enmity one with another, made war with him; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls: and when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians; and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighbourhood; and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and joining battle with him, was beaten; and this happened because God was angry with him, on account of his many and

great enormities. Accordingly, there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zachariah the king's son in this conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was *Azricam*. He also carried Elkanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives : and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria ; he met the army before the city-walls, and with a loud voice, told them, " that they had gotten the victory, not by their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against king Ahaz." And he complained, that " they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against him, but were so bold as to make captives out of their kinsmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey God herein, they should be punished." So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was *Berechiah*, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and three others with him, and said, " We will not suffer the citizens to bring these prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God : we have sins enough of our own that we have committed against him, as the prophets assure us ; nor ought we, therefore, to introduce the practice of new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the fore-named men took the captives, and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

3. Hereupon king Ahaz, having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in his wars against the Israelites, and Syrians, and Damascenes, with a promise to send him much money : he sent him also great presents at the same time. Now this king, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by force, and slew Rezin their king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into the Upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflict-

ed the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was doing thus with the Syrians, king Ahaz took all the gold that was in the king's treasures, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed that he owed him thanks for all that he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now this king was so sottish, and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshipping them, as though they would procure him the victory : and when he was beaten again, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians ; and he seemed more desirous to honour any other gods than his own paternal and true god, whose anger was the cause of his defeat : nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt [of God's worship,] that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade them to bring in the appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen ; and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

CHAP. XIII.

How Pekah died by the treachery of Hoshea, who was a little after subdued by Shalmaneser ; and how Hezekiah reigned instead of Ahaz : and what actions of piety and justice he did.

§. 1. ABOUT the same time Pekah, the king of Israel, died by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was *Hoshea*, who retained the kingdom nine years' time, but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the divine worship : and Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and overcame him, (which must have been because he had not God favourable nor assistant to him,) and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem ; and his mother's name was *Abijah*, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious ; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests, and the Levites, and made a speech

to them, and said, " You are not ignorant how, by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honour which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries while you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods : I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to recover all to the ancient honour which our fathers paid to it ; for by this means we may render God favourable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us."

2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple ; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and had cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him, and called the people of Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the fore-mentioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and to return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread ; and this he said was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools : as also they affronted the prophets, which gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch, that at length they caught them, and slew them : nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described ; nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies : but of that more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zabulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God [there.]

3. When these men were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple, with the rulers, and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself, and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burnt the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalteries, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands : and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their faces, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle ; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased therewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God : but as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the *Passover*, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, beside what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers ; for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence : and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purged it, and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law ; and appointed that the tythes, and the first fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives. And thus did they return to their old form of divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemies' cities, from Gaza to Gath : but the

king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly ; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired, and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

CHAP. XIV.

How Shalmaneser took Samaria by force ; and how he transplanted the ten tribes into Media ; and brought the nation of the Cutheans into their country, [in their room.]

§ 1. WHEN Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him that [Hoshea,] the king of Israel, had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea ; but when he was not admitted [into the city] by the king, he besieged Samaria * three years, and took it by force, in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive ; and when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cutha, a place so called, (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,) into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of this country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days, after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grand-son of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not

* This siege of Samaria, though not given a particular account of, either in our Hebrew or Greek Bibles, or in Josephus, was so very long, no less than three years, that it is no way improbable but that parents, and particularly mothers, might therein be reduced to eat their own children, as the law of Moses had threatened upon their disobedience, Levit. xxvi. 29. Deut. xxviii. 53—57, and as was accomplished in the other shorter sieges of both the capital cities, Jerusalem and Samaria ; the former mentioned, Jer. xix. 9. Antiq. B. ix. ch. iv. § 4, and the latter. 2 Kings vi. 26—29.

hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to the evil doings, was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam, the grand-son of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, who, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent the punishment which he justly deserved.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phœnicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre, in the reign of Eluleus; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his chronology, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history. "One whose name was *Eluleus*, reigned thirty-six years. This king, upon the revolt of the Citteans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to a submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overrun all Phœnicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back: but Sidon, and Ace, and Pylaetirus, revolted; and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned and fell upon them again, while the Phœnicians had furnished him with threescore ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come to them in twelve ships, and the enemies' ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased: but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their river, and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cutheans, who removed into Samaria, (for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called *Cuthah*, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,) each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed: and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle, that they ought to worship

Almighty God, as the method of their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive: and when he had thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately: and indeed they continued to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue *Cutheans*, but in the Greek tongue *Samaritans*. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojourners, that come from other countries: but of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 182 1-2 YEARS.

[From the captivity of the ten Tribes to the first of Cyrus.]

CHAP. I.

How Sennacherib made an expedition against Hezekiah : what threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Sennacherib was gone against the Egyptians : how Isaiah the prophet encouraged him : how Sennacherib, having failed of success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem : and how, upon his finding his army destroyed, he returned home ; and what befell him a little afterward.

§ 1. IT was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was *Sennacherib*, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin by force : and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, when he heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him ; and if he might receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner ; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any farther distress about his kingdom. Accordingly, the Assyrian king took it, and yet had no regard to what he had promised ; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other of his principal commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were *Tartan* and *Rabsaris*.

2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and

desired that they might speak with him ; but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends ; the name of one was *Eliakim*, who was over the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army ; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bid them to go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following : that “ Sennacherib, the * great king, desires to know of him on whom it is that he relies and depends in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into he city ? Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them ? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed, while such an one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know, he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also.” When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed, so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue : but the general understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, he made his answer with a greater and a louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue : and said, that “ since they all heard what were the king’s commands, they would consult their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us, for it is plain that both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist ; but if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and show your strength, but what you have not, you cannot produce. Why, therefore, do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent ? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily, while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring farther calamities upon you.”

3. When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Heze-

* This title of *Great King*, both in our Bibles, 2 Kings xviii. 19. Isa. xxxvii. 4, and here in Josephus, is the very same that Herodotus gives this Sennacherib, as Spanheim takes notice on this place.

kiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth and took the habit of a mourner, and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold, that "their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now show, for that God would take care they should be destroyed." He also foretold, that "Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home, he should perish by the sword."

4. About the same time also, the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said, "He was a foolish man in supposing that he should escape from being his servant, since he had already brought under many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem. When he had read this epistle, he despised it, on account of the trust that he had in God, but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his farther prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said, that "God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be * besieged at this time by the king of Assyria; that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him; and that the people might go on peaceably and without fear, with their husbandry and other af-

* What Josephus says here, how Isaiah the prophet assured Hezekiah, that "at this time he should not be besieged by the king of Assyria; that for the future he might be secure of being not at all disturbed by him; and that [afterward] the people might go on peaceably, and without fear, with their husbandry, and other affairs," is more distinct in our other copies, both of the Kings and of Isaiah, and deserves very great consideration. The words are these: *This shall be a sign unto thee; ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself; and the second year, that which springeth of the same; and in the third year, sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof,* 2 Kings xix. 20. Isa. xxxvii. 30, which seems to me plainly to design a sabbatic year a year of Jubilee, next after it, and the succeeding usual labours and fruits of them on the third and following years.

fairs." But after a little while, the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home without success, on the following occasion : he spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium ; and when the banks that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, but heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desert, and so to fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed at the news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned back without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories, " How this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan, and that as he was besieging Pelusium, he broke up the siege on the following occasion ; this Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king." But in this, Herodotus was mistaken, when he called this king not the king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians : for he saith that " a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows, and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians, and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does indeed give us this history ; nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt ; * and says thus :

5. " Now, when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army, under Rabshakeh his general, in danger [by a plague, for] God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army ; and on the very first night of the siege, an hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed ; so the king was in a great dread, and in a terrible agony at this calamity ; and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city Nineveh : and when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously assaulted, and died by the hands of his elder sons † Adrammelech and Seraser, and was slain in his own temple.

* That this terrible calamity of the slaughter of the 185,000 Assyrians is here delivered in the words of Berosus the Chaldean ; and that it was certainly and frequently foretold by the Jewish prophets, and that it was certainly and undeniably accomplished, see Authent. Rec. part II. p. 858.

† We are here to take notice, that these two sons of Sennacherib, that ran away into Armenia, became the heads of two famous families

which was called *Araske*. Now these sons of his were driven away on account of the murder of their father by the citizens, and went into Armenia, while Assarachoddas took the kingdom of Sennacherib." And 'his proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.

How Hezekiah was sick, and ready to die; and how God bestowed upon him fifteen years longer life, [and secured that promise] by the going back of the shadow ten degrees.

§ 1. Now king Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his people, because nothing else had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate, that they departed from Jerusalem, but that divine assistance: yet while he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, did he soon afterward fall into a severe * distemper, insomuch that the physician despaired of him, and expected no good issue of his sickness, as neither did his friends: and besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and his government without a successor of his own body: so he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he was become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death, was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed

there, the Arzerunii and the Genunii; of which see the particular histories in Moses's Chorenensis, p. 60.

* Josephus, and all our copies, place the *sickness* of Hezekiah after the *destruction* of Sennacherib's *army*, because it appears to have been after his assault, as he was going into Arabia and Egypt, where he pushed his conquests as far as they would go, and in order to despatch his story altogether; yet does no copy but this of Josephus's say it was *after* that destruction, but only that it happened *in those days*, or about that time of Hezekiah's life. Nor will the fifteen years prolongation of his life after his sickness, allow that sickness to have been later than the former part of the 15th year of his reign, since chronology does not allow him in all above 29 years and a few months; whereas the first assault of Sennacherib's was on the 14th year of Hezekiah, but the destruction of Sennacherib's army was not till his 18th year.

in the kingdom, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons that might receive the government after him. And so God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that “within three days’ time, he should get clear of his distemper, and should survive it fifteen years, and that he should have children also.” Now upon the prophet’s saying this, as God had commanded him, he could hardly believe it, both on account of the distemper he was under, which was very sore, and by reason of the surprising nature of what was told him; so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign or wonder, that he might believe him in what he heard that he came from God: for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by actions of the like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him, what sign he desired to be exhibited? he desired that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps [or degrees] in his house, to * return again to the same place; and to make it as it was before. And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God, and made vows to him.

2. At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians † was overthrown by the Medes; but of these things I shall

* As to this regress of the shadow, either upon a sun-dial, or the steps of the royal palace built by Ahaz, whether it were physically done by the real miraculous revolution of the earth in its diurnal motion backward from east to west for a while, and its return again to its old natural revolution from west to east, or whether it were not apparent only, and performed by an aerial phosphorus, which imitated the sun’s motion backward, while a cloud hid the real sun, cannot now be determined. Philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to the latter hypothesis. However, it must be noted, that Josephus seems to have understood it otherwise than we generally do, that the shadow was accelerated as much at first forward, as it was made to go backward afterward, and so the day was neither shorter nor longer than usual, which, it must be confessed, agrees best of all to astronomy, whose eclipses older than that time, were observed at the same times of the day as if this miracle had never happened. After all, this wonderful signal was not, it seems, peculiar to Judea, but either seen, or at least heard of, at Babylon also, as appears by 2 Chr. xxxii. 31, where we learn, that the Babylonian ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, among other things, *to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land.*

† This expression of Josephus’s, that the Medes, upon this destruction of the Assyrian army, *overthrew* the Assyrian empire, seems to be too strong; for although they immediately cast off the Assyrian yoke, and set up Deioeces a king of their own, yet was it some time before the Medes and Babylonians overthrew Nineveh, and some generations ere the

treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was *Baladan*, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally and friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armory, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones, and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him, "Whence those ambassadors came?" To which he replied, that "they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces, he might thereby guess at [the plenty he was in,] and be able to inform the king of it." But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon, for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, that "he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities; yet since it is not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived." Berossus also makes mention of this Baladan, king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet, [Isaiah,] he was, by the confession of all, a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishments might be judged of from the events by posterity: nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatsoever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah; and how, when he was in captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his kingdom, and left it to [his son] Amon.

§ 1. WHEN king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine: but when his son Manasseh, whose mo-

Medes and Persians, under Cyaxares and Cyrus, overthrew the Assyrian or Babylonian empire.

ther's name was *Hephzibah*, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God they had been destroyed, for he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country, for, by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men that were among the Hebrews ; nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflown with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, which their brethren the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words, by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries, yet did they in earnest learn, that what the prophets had told them was true.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them, from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country ; and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly, God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in ; and when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and for the remainder of his days he was intent on nothing but to return his thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same, as having very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had re-established what concerned the divine worship, as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem : he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another

wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed, when he had changed his former course, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time of his return to piety towards God, he was deemed an happy man, and a pattern for imitation: when, therefore, he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having reigned fifty-five years, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was *Meshulemeth*, of the city of Jotbath.

CHAP. IV.

How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and after Amon reigned Josiah; he was both righteous and religious. As also concerning Huldah the prophetess.

§ 1. THIS Amon imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young: so he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them had reigned two: but the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city Boscath; and her name was *Jedidah*. He was of a most excellent disposition, and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, as a pattern and a rule to him in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behaviour; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God: and by reflecting on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done, and what he found they had well done, he observed all the country over, and imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders; for by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the

groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars ; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious, and plucked them down, and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings on the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own souls. He also sent all over the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclinations and abilities : and when the money was brought in, he made one Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joah the recorder, and Eliakim the high-priest, curators of the temple and of the charges contributed thereto ; who made no delay, nor put the work off at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high-priest, and gave order, that out of what money was overplus he should cast cups, and dishes, and vials, for ministration [in the temple ;] and besides, that they should bring all the gold or silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making cups, and the like vessels : but as the high-priest was bringing out the gold, he light upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple, and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, came to the king, and informed him that all was finished, which he had ordered to be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard them read, rent his garment : and called for Eliakim the high-priest, and for [Shaphan] the scribe, and for certain [other] of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, (which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family,) and bid them go to her, and say, that “[he desired] she would appease God, and endeavour to render him propitious to them, for that there was cause to fear, lest upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, and of being cast out of their own country ; lest they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably.”

bly." When the prophetess had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bid them go back to the king, and say, that "God had already given sentence against them, to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they enjoyed; which sentence none could set aside by any prayers of theirs, since it was passed on account of their transgressions of the laws, and of their not having repented in so long a time, while the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, and that they might be persuaded that he is God, and had not deceived them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets; that yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities, but that after his death, he would send on the multitude what miseries he had determined for them.

3. So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king; whereupon he sent it to the people every where, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should come together to Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also: and when they were gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a pulpit, in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God, and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly, they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended to them. So they immediately offered sacrifices, and that after an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high-priest, that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, they should cast it out: so when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and slew the priests of the idols, that were not of the family of Aaron.

4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by king Jeroboam in honour of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built. And as the prophet, [Jadon,] who came to Jeroboam, when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, viz. that "a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned." And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

5. After these things, Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses, and the villages, and the cities, out of a suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away the * chariots [of the sun,] that were set up in his royal palace, which his predecessors had framed, and what thing soever there was besides, which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the *Passover*. He also gave the people for paschal sacrifices young kids of the goats and lambs thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests against the passover two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs, and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices; and they offered those sacrifices, according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the customs of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

CHAP. V.

How Josiah fought with Neco, [king of Egypt,] and was wounded, and died a little time afterward: as also how Neco carried Jehoahaz, who had been made king, into Egypt, and delivered the kingdom to Jehoiakim: and [lastly,] concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

§ 1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes

* It is hard to reconcile the account in the second book of Kings, ch. xxiii. 11, with this account in Josephus, and to translate this passage truly in Josephus, whose copies are supposed to be here imperfect: however, the general sense of both seems to be this, that there were certain chariots with their horses, dedicated to the idol of the sun, or to Moloch; which idol might be carried about in procession, and worshipped by the people; which chariots were now *taken away*, as Josephus says, or, as the book of Kings says, *burnt with fire by Josiah*.

and Babylonians, who had * overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians, for he had a desire to reign over Asia, Now when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent an herald to Josiah, and told him, that "he did not make this expedition against him, but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had resolved to go." But Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neco's, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from his intended march. I suppose it was fate that pushed him on to this conduct, that it might take an occasion against him; for as he was setting his † army in array, and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting; for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account many days; and Jeremiah the prophet composed ‡ an elegy to lament him, which is extant till this time also. Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand the calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing, a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon: nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing, two books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth; but of them

* This is a remarkable passage of chronology in Josephus, that about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of Tobit's continuator, that "before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchodonosor the Babylonian, and Assuerus the Mede." Tobit xiv. 15. See Dean Prideaux's Connexion, at the year 612.

† This battle is justly esteemed the very same that Herodotus, B. ii. § 156, mentions, when he says, that "Neco joined battle with the Syrians [or Jews] at Magdolum [Megiddo,] and beat them," as Dr. Hudson here observes.

‡ Whether Josephus, from 2 Chr. xxxv. 25, here means the book of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* still extant, which chiefly belongs to the destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar, or to any other like melancholy poem now lost, but extant in the days of Josephus, belonging peculiarly to Josiah, cannot now be determined.

Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom; being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was *Hamutal*, of the city Libnah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life: but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to the city called * *Hamath*, which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bands, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his by the father's side, whose name was *Eliakim*, and changed his name to *Jehoiakim*; and laid a tribute upon the land of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and the sum of money *Jehoiakim* paid by way of tribute; but *Neco* carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt, where he died, when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now *Jehoiakim's* mother was called *Zebudah*, of the city *Rumah*. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief: nor was he either religious towards God, or good-natured towards men.

CHAP. VI.

How Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered the king of Egypt, made an expedition against the Jews, and slew Jehoiakim, and made Jehoiachin his son king.

§ 1. Now in the fourth year of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, one whose name was *Nebuchadnezzar*, took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city *Charchemish*, which was at *Euphrates*, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with *Neco* king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when *Neco* understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to *Euphrates* to defend himself from *Nebuchadnezzar*; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands [of his soldiers] in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over *Euphrates*, and took also Syria, as far as *Pelu-*

* This ancient city *Hamath*, which is joined with *Arpad*, or *Aradus*, and with *Damascus*, 2 Kings xviii. 34. Isa. xxxvi. 19. Jer. xlix. 23, cities of Syria and Phœnicia, near the borders of Judea, was also itself evidently near the same borders, though long ago utterly destroyed.

sium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened, upon his refusal, to make war against him. He was affrighted at his threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute, yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape; for both the multitude, and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard, but being displeas'd at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, they required that a sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refus'd, who prudently sent the prophet away from the court, [of the prison,] and persuaded the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said, that "he was not the only person who foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah signified the same before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God." So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions, of what was to befall the city, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bid him, and Baruch the scribe, to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire; where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah, and Baruch.

the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

3. Now a little while afterward, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received [into the city,] and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country, and of the city: he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among which was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven; but Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was *Nehushta*: she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

CHAP. VII.

That the king of Babylon repented of making Jehoiachin king, and took him away to Babylon, and delivered the kingdom to Zedekiah. This king would not believe what was predicted by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but joined himself to the Egyptians; who, when they came into Judea, were vanquished by the king of Babylon; as also what befell Jeremiah.

§ 1. BUT a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately: he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because of his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem: but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother, and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders, sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives, both the youth, and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him: their number was ten thousand

eight hundred and thirty-two ; as also Jehoiachin, and his mother, and friends : and when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle, Zedekiah, to be king ; and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, or have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

2. Now Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he took the government ; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim ; but was a despiser of justice, and of his duty, for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased ; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and protested to him, and insisted, that " he must leave off his impieties and transgressions, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers, (among whom were wicked men,) nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against him, and conquer him, since they said what was not true, and the events would not prove such [as they expected.]" Now as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage ; but then his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them unto Jerusalem ; but Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reason following : it happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said as to all other things, that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive, but Ezekiel disagreed with him, and said that " Zedekiah should not see Babylon," while Jeremiah said to him, that " the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds." And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in, and condemned them as not speaking truth therein, although all the things foretold him did come to pass according to their prophecies, as we shall show upon a fitter opportunity.

3. Now when Zedekiah preserved the league of mutual assistance he had made with the Babylonians, for eight years, he brake it, and revolted to the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him : he laid his

country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it: but when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah his ally was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judea, as if he would raise the siege; upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them, and beat them, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said, that "the king of Babylon would not make any more war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon, and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the temple, of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that temple." But Jeremiah came among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, that "they did ill, and deluded the king; that the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but that the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in the temple; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years: that then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians, and that we shall be dismissed and return to this land, and * rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem." When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him, but the rulers, and those that were wicked, despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called *Anathoth*, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians; but Jeremiah said, that he accused him falsely, and added, that he was only going to his own country, but the other would not believe him, but seized upon him, and led him away to the rulers, and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tor-

* Josephus says here, that Jeremiah prophesied not only of the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and this under the Persians and Medes, as in our other copies; but of their rebuilding the temple, and even the city Jerusalem, which do not appear in our copies under his name. See the note on Antiq. B. xi. ch. i. § 3.

tures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the utmost application. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine, and a pestilential distemper, and made great havoc of them: and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families, but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one staid in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either be consumed by the famine, or slain by the enemy's sword, but that if he should fly to the enemy, he should escape death: yet did not the rulers who heard believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities, but they came to the king, and, in their anger, informed him of what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries, weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to fly to the enemy, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

5. But for the king himself, he was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would: whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued; but there was one of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said, that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to

the rulers, and bid the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and to draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison.]

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had somewhat to say," but he said withal, "he should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should he be hearkened to; for," said he, "thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness: and where are now those men who deceived us, and said, that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more: but I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldest condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians: and he said that it was God that prophesied this by him, that [he must do so] if he would be preserved, and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city fall to the ground, nor should the temple be burned: but that [if he disobeyed,] he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house." When the king heard this, he said, that "he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of his own country that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished." But the prophet encouraged him, and said, "He had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt." So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him, "To betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor tell any of these matters to any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and should inquire of him what it was that he was sent for, and what he had said to him? but to pretend to them, that he sought him that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison." And indeed he said so to them;

for they came to the prophet, and asked him, what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them? And thus have I finished what concerns this matter.

CHAP. VIII.

How the king of Babylon took Jerusalem, and burnt the temple, and removed the people of Jerusalem and Zedekiah to Babylon: as also, who they were that succeeded in the high-priesthood under the kings.

§ 1. Now the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls: he also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and alacrity, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds, in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other withal, till indeed there seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians, and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former party supposing they should be thereby too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city, the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions, in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemies' engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

2. Now the city was taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these, Nergal, Sharezer; Samgar, Nebo, Rabsaris, Sareschim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken, about midnight, and the enemies' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he

took his wives, and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the desert : and when certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encompassed him about ; but for those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves, some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself ; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to “ call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it him, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it ; but, said he, God is great, who hateth that conduct of thine, and hath brought thee under us.” And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons, and his friends, to be slain, while Zedekiah, and the rest of the captains, looked on, after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him, * as Jeremiah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught, and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face, and should see his eyes with his own eyes ; and thus far did Jeremiah prophesy : but he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

3. We have said thus much, because it was sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper seasons, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and are

* This observation of Josephus's about the seeming disagreement of Jeremiah, xxxii. 4. xxxiv. 3, and Ezekiel xii. 13, but real agreement at last, concerning the fate of Zedekiah, is very true, and very remarkable. See chap. vii. § 2. Nor is it at all unlikely that the countries and false prophets might make use of this seeming contradiction to dissuade Zedekiah from believing either of those prophets, as Josephus here intimates he was dissuaded thereby.

not without a guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one, until the last king, who altogether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days ; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuza-radan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, who had it also in command to burn it, and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. Accordingly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the golden tables, and the candlesticks ; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, on the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and on the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar : he also burnt the palace, and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days, after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days, from the departure out of Egypt ; and from the deluge, to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months and ten days ; but from the generation of Adam, untill this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days : so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during those years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed the people, and took for prisoners the high-priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the priest that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and sixty other rulers ; all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high-priest and of the rulers to be cut off there : but he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah, to Babylon. He also led Josedek, the high-priest, away bound. He was the son of Seraiah the high-priest, whom the king of Baby-

Ion had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

6. And now because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high-priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high-priesthood, under the kings. The first high-priest then at the temple, which Solomon built, was Zadok; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Isus; after him was Axioramus; his son was Phideas, and Phideas's son was Sudeas, and Sudeas's son was Juelus, and Juelus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus's son was Elicas, and his son [was * Azarias, and his son] Sareas, and his son was Josadoc, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high-priesthood by succession, the sons from their fathers.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high-priest from his bonds.

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews that were left in Judea, which Gedaliah was a little afterward slain by Ishmael; and how Jonathan, after Ishmael was driven away, went down into Egypt with the people; which people Nebuchadnezzar, when he made an expedition against the Egyptians, took captive and brought them away to Babylon.

§ 1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor, and those that had deserted, in the country, and made one, whose name was *Gedaliah*, the son of Ahikam, a person of a noble family, their governor; which *Gedaliah* was of a gentle and righteous disposition. He also commanded them that they should cultivate the ground, and pay an appointed

* I have here inserted in brackets this high-priest Azarias, though he be omitted in all Josephus's copies, out of the Jewish chronicle, Seder Olam, of how little authority soever I generally esteem such late rabbinical historians, because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high-priests belonging to this interval was eighteen. Antiq. B. xx. ch. x. whereas his copies have here but seventeen.

tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon, for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatsoever he wanted; and if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell, that he might signify the same to the king: but the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor dwell any where else, but would gladly live in the ruins of his country, and in the miserable remains of it. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind him, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatsoever he wanted: so when he had given him rich presents, he dismissed him. Accordingly, Jeremiah abode in a city of that country which was called *Mizpah*; and desired of Nebuzaradan that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch,* the son of Neriah, one of a very eminent family, and exceeding skilful in the language of his country.

2. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon: but as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mizpah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah, and Sereiah, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family, one Ishmael, a wicked man, and very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time: and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for that if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them by oath; and said, that they should have him for their patron, and that if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there: and he admonished them beforehand, that they should make preparation, while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have whereupon to feed, during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them, he dismissed them,

* Of this character of Baruch, the son of Neriah, and the genuineness of his book that stands now in our Apocrypha, and that it is really a canonical book, and an Appendix to Jeremiah, see Authent. Rec. part i. p. 1—11.

that every one might dwell in what place of the country he pleased.

3. Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon this [only] condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, that they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, observed the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him, that Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery, and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family; and they said, that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it, for they told him they were afraid that when he was killed by the other, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue: but he professed, that "he did not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in a man that had been well treated by him, because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary for him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavour, and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hand: that however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and intrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his own disposal."

4. So Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away: but after the interval of thirty days was over, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city Mizpah, and ten men with him, and when he had feasted Ishmael, and those that were with him, in a splendid manner at his table, and had given them presents, he became disordered in drink, while he endeavoured to be very merry with them; and when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was drowned in his cups to a degree of insensibility, and fallen asleep, he rose up on a sudden, with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah and those that were with him at the feast; and when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also which were left therein by the Babylon-

nians ; but, the next day, fourscore men came out of the country with presents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him ; when Ishmael saw them, he invited them in to Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down into a certain deep pit that they might not be seen ; but of these fourscore men, Ishmael spared those that entreated him not to kill them, till they had delivered up to him what riches they had concealed in the fields, consisting of their furniture, and garments, and corn : but he took captive the people that were in Mizpah, with their wives and children ; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah : and when he had done this, he came to the king of the Ammonites.

5. But when Johanan, and the rulers with him, heard of what was done at Mizpah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own armed men, and came suddenly to fight with Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron : and when those that were carried away captives by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance ; so they left him that had carried them captives, and came over to Johanan ; then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites ; but Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives, and children, and came to a certain place called *Mandra*, and there they abode that day, for they had determined to remove from thence, and to go into Egypt, out of fear lest the Babylonians should slay them, in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

6. Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Kereah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, that because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and they swore that they would do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them : and when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days, God appeared to him and said, “ that he would inform Johanan, and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid, but that he would desert them if

they went into Egypt, and out of his wrath against them, would inflict the same punishment upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured." So when the prophet had informed Johanan, and the people, that God had foretold these things, he was not believed, when he said that God commanded them to continue in that country ; but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belied God, and that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people, and Johanan, disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with him.

7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet, that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them, and should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon ; which things came to pass accordingly ; for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Coelosyria, and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites, and Moabites ; and when he had brought all those under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it ; and he slew the * king that then reigned, and set up another ; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates ; for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians, in the days of king Hoshea ; after which the people of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken, [were carried away] by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldea. Now as to Shalmanezar, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cutheans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called *Samaritans*, by taking the name of the country to which they were removed ; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes † plac-

* Herodotus says, this king of Egypt [Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries] was slain by the Egyptians, as Jeremiah foretold his slaughter by his enemies, xliv. 29, 30, and that as a sign of the destruction of Egypt [by Nebuchadnezzar.] † Josephus says, this king was slain by Nebuchadnezzar himself.

† We see here that Judea was left in a manner desolate after the captivity of the two tribes, and was not repopled with foreign colonies. per-

ed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judea, and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years; but the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be an hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Daniel, and what befell him at Babylon.

§ 1. BUT now Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs; which course he took also with those of other nations whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, the one of whom was called *Daniel*, another was called *Ananias*, another, *Misael*, and the fourth *Azarias*: and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names; Daniel he called *Baltazar*, Ananias, *Shadrach*, Misael, *Meshach*, and Azarias, *Abednego*. These the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning, and the progress they had made in wisdom.

2. NOW Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures: so he came to Ashpenaz, who was that * eu-

haps as an indication of Providence that the Jews were to repeople it without opposition themselves. I also esteem the later and present desolate condition of the same country, without being re-peopled by foreign colonies, to be a like indication that the same Jews are hereafter to re-people it again themselves, at their so long expected future restoration.

*This Daniel was made one of these eunuchs of which Isaiah prophesied, xxxix. 7, and the three children his companions also, seems to me plain, both here in Josephus, and in our copies of Daniel, i. 3, 6,

nuch to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else, besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased, for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them, in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king from their meagre bodies, and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children who would fare better, and thus they should bring him into danger, and occasion him to be punished: yet did they persuade Arioch, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial, and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterward, but that if he then saw them look meagre, and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in the body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed less plump and full, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and in all sorts of luxury, Arioch, from that time securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the fore-mentioned diet, while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labour, for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminate on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who, being already sufficiently skilful in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams: and God manifested himself to him.

3. Now two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God showed him in his sleep, but when he arose out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment: so he sent for the

7—11, 13, although it must be granted, that some married persons, that had children were sometimes called eunuchs, in a general acceptation for courtiers, on account that so many of the ancient courtiers were real eunuchs. See Gen. xxxix. 1.

Chaldeans, and magicians, and the prophets, and told them, that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him, both what the dream was, and what was its signification; and they said, that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men, but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its signification. Hereupon he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream; and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command, that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him what was the reason why the king had given command that all the wise men, and Chaldeans, and magicians, should be slain? So when he had learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they said they could not do it, and had thereby provoked him to anger, he desired of Arioch that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night, and put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayers to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired; so the king bid them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly, God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well, that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So when he had with them returned thanks to God, who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Arioch, and desired him to bring him to the king, because

he would discover to him that dream which he had seen the night before.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused, himself first, that "he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians, when upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it, for this was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest, but he said, God had had pity upon us, when we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream and the interpretation thereof, for I was not less concerned for thy glory, than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, while thou didst so unjustly command men, both good and excellent in themselves, to be put to death, when thou enjoinedst them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom, and requiredst of them what was only the work of God. Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was desirous to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream: thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which proved to be of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass, but the legs and feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image, and threw it down, and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole, but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the brass, became smaller than meal, which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away, and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree, that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and the interpretation is as follows: the head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that have been before thee; but the two hands, and arms signify this, that your government shall be dissolved by two kings; but another king, that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government: and another government that shall be like unto iron, shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and of brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of * the stone

* Of this remarkable passage in Josephus concerning the *stone cut out of the mountain, and destroyed the image*, which he would not explain, but intimated to be a prophecy of futurity, and probably not safe for him to

to the king ; but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past, or things present, but not things that are future ; yet if any one be so very desirous of knowing truth, as not to wave such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face, and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name of his own god upon him, [Baltasar,] and made him, and his kinsmen, rulers of his whole kingdom ; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into danger by the envy and malice [of their enemies ;] for they offended the king upon the occasion following : he made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon ; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited the principal men out of all the earth that was under his dominions, and commanded them in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image : and he threatened that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When, therefore, all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they relate that Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country : so these men were convicted, and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by divine providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death, for the fire did not touch them : and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and that, therefore, it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far superior to the fire, that it could not consume. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God ; on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

6. A little after this, the king saw in his sleep again an explain, as belonging to the destruction of the Roman empire by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews, take the words of Havercamp, ch. x. § 4 : " Nor is this to be wondered at, that he would not now meddle with things future, for he had no mind to provoke the Romans by speaking of the destruction of that city which they called the *eternal city*."

other vision : how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he had lived in this manner in the desert for * seven years, he should recover his dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified : but when none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it ; and as he foretold so it came to pass ; for after he had continued in the wilderness the fore-mentioned interval of time, while no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and he returned to it. But let no one blame me for writing down every thing of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books ; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them, in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding any thing to them of my own, or taking any thing away from them.

* Since Josephus here explains the *seven prophetic times* which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. 16, to be *seven years*, we thence learn how he most probably must have understood those other parallel phrases, of *a time, times, and an half*, Antiq. B. vii. ch. xxv. vol. ii. of so many prophetic *years* also, though he withal lets us know, by his hint at the interpretation of the *seventy weeks*, as belonging to the fourth monarchy, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the days of Josephus, ch. ii. § 7, that he did not think those *years* to be *bare years*, but rather *days for years* ; by which reckoning, and by which alone could 70 weeks, or 490 days, reach to the age of Josephus. But as to the truth of those seven years' banishment of Nebuchadnezzar from men, and his living so long among the beasts, the very small remains we have any where else of this Nebuchadnezzar, prevent our expectation of any other full account of it. So far we know by Ptolemy's canon, a contemporary record, as well as by Josephus presently, that he reigned in all 43 years, that is, eight years after we meet with any account of his actions ; one of the last of which was the 13 years' siege of Tyre, Antiq. B. xi. ch. xi. where yet the old Latin has but three years and ten months, yet were his actions before so remarkable, both in sacred and profane authors, that such a vacuity of eight years at the least, at the latter end of his reign, must be allowed to agree very well with Daniel's account, that after a seven years' brutal life, he might return to his reason, and to the exercise of his royal authority, for one whole year at least before his death.

CHAP. XI.¹

Concerning Nebuchadnezzar, and his successors; and how their government was dissolved by the Persians: and what things befell Daniel in Media; and what prophecies he delivered there.

§ 1. Now when king Nebuchadnezzar had reigned * forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him. Now Berossus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic history, where he says thus: "When his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopolassar] heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and the places about Coelosyria and Phœnicia, had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships [of war,] he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against them. So when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his own kingdom: but about that time it happened, that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopolassar] fell ill, and ended his life in the city Babylon, when he had reigned † twenty-one years: and when he was made sensible, as he was in a little time, that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopolassar] was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt, and the other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews, and Phœnicians, and Syrians, and those of the Egyptian nations, and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the gross of his army, and the rest of their ammunition and provisions, he went himself hastily, accompanied with a few others, over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public

* These 43 years for the duration of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are, as I have just now observed, the very same number in Ptolemy's canon. Moses Chorenensis does also confirm this captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar; and adds, what is very remarkable, that one of those Jews that were carried by him into captivity got away into Armenia, and raised the great family of the Bagraditæ there.

† These 21 years here ascribed to one named *Naboulassar* in the first book against Apion, or to Nabopolassar, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, are also the very same with those given him in Ptolemy's canon. And note here, that what Dr. Prideaux says, at the year 612, that Nebuchadnezzar must have been a common name of other kings of Babylon, besides the great Nebuchadnezzar himself, is a groundless mistake of some modern chronologers only, and destitute of all proper original authority.

affairs, and of the kingdom, which had been kept for him by one that was the principal of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed, that, when the captives came, they should be placed as colonies, in the most proper places of Babylonia: but then he adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in the war. He also added another city to that which was there of old, and rebuilt it, that such as would besiege it hereafter, might no more turn the course of the river, and thereby attack the city itself: he therefore built three walls round about the inner city, and three others about that which was the outer, and this he did with burnt brick. And after he had, after a becoming manner, walled the city, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but so that they joined it; to describe whose vast height, and immense riches, it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt, yet as large and lofty as they were, they were completed * in fifteen days. He also erected elevated places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a pensile paradise, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the places of Media." Magasthens also in his fourth book of his accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions: for he saith, that "he conquered a great part of Lybia and Iberia." Diocles, also, in the second book of his accounts of Persia, mentions this king; as does Philostratus in his accounts both of India and of Phœnicia, say, that "this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same time Ethbaal reigned at Tyre." These are all the histories, that I have met with concerning this king.

2. But now, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, his son, succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately

* These fifteen days for finishing such vast buildings at Babylon, in Josephus's copy of Berosus, would seem too absurd to be supposed to be the true number, were it not for the same testimony extant also in the first book against Apion, § 19, with the same number. It thence indeed appears, that Josephus's copy of Berosus had this small number; but that it is the true number I still doubt. Josephus assures us, that the walls of so much a smaller city as Jerusalem, were two years and four months in building by Nehemiah, who yet hastened the work all he could, Antiq. B. xi. ch. v. § 3. I should think 115 days, or a year and 15 days, much more proportionable to so great a work.

set Jechoniah at liberty, and esteemed him among his most intimate friends. He also gave him many presents, and made him honourable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon ; for his father had not kept his faith with Jechoniah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When Evil-Merodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen years, Niglissar, his son, took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life : and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labofordacus, who continued in it, in all, but nine months ; and when he was dead, it came to * Baltasar, who, by the Babylonians, was called *Naboandelus* : against him did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make war ; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He was sat down at supper in a large room, and there were a great many vessels of silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines and his friends : whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so haughty as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of them, and blaspheming against God. In the mean time, he saw an hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables ; at which sight, being disturbed, he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all that sort of men that were among these barbarians, who were able to inter-

* It is here remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's canon, should call the same king whom he himself here, Baruch i. 11, and Daniel v. 1, 2, 9, 12, 22, 29, 30, styles *Beltazar*, or *Belshazzar*, from the Babylonian god Bel, *Naboandelus* also ; and in the first book against Apion, § 19, vol. vi. from the same citation out of Berosus, *Nabonodon*, from the Babylonian god Nabo or Nebo. This last is not remote from the original pronounciation itself, in Ptolemy's canon, *Nobonadius*, for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of the Assyrian or Babylonian kings, and the number of years of his reign, seventeen, the same in both, demonstrate that it is one and the same king that is meant by them all. It is also worth noting, that Josephus knew that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Astyages, and was called by another name among the Greeks, though it does not appear he knew what that name was, as having never seen the best history of this period, which is Xenophon's : but then what Josephus's present copies say presently, § 4, that it was only within *no long time* after the handwriting on the wall that Baltasar was slain, does not so well agree with our copies of Daniel, which say it was *the same night*. Dan. v. 30.

pret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea, and would bestow upon him the third part of his own dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the importance of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now, when the king's * grandmother saw him cast down at this accident, she began to encourage him, and to say, that "there was a certain captive who came from Judea, a Jew by birth, but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar, when he destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was *Daniel*, a wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone; who brought to light and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskilfulness of those that could not find their meaning, and this although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature."

3. When Baltazar heard this, he called for Daniel: and when he had discoursed to him what he had learned concerning him, and his wisdom, and how a divine spirit was with him, and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant: that if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honours. But Daniel desired "that he would keep his gifts to himself; for what is the effect of wisdom, and of divine revelation, admits of no gifts, and bestows its advantages on petitioners

* This grandmother or mother of Baltazar, the Queen Dowager of Babylon, (for she is distinguished from his queen, Dan. 10, 23,) seems to have been the famous Nitceris, who fortified Babylon against the Medes and Persians, and, in all probability governed it under Baltazar, who seems to be a weak and effeminate prince.

freely, but that still he would explain the writing to him : which denoted that he should soon die, and this because he had not learned to honour God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishments his progenitor had undergone for the injuries he had offered to God ; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men, and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers ; who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of Almighty power, and who takes care of mankind. [He also put him in mind,] how he had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels amongst his concubines : that therefore, God saw this, and was angry with him, and declared by this writing, beforehand, what a sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus :—**MANEH.** This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify a *Number*, because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. **THEKEL.** This signifies a *Weight*, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. **PHARES.** This also, in the Greek tongue, denotes a *Fragment* ; God will, therefore, break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians.”

4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a foreteller of misfortunes to him, but bestowed it all upon him : as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet, but that it was the part of a good and a just man to give what he had promised, although the events were to be of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now after a little while, both himself, and the city, were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him ; for it was Baltasar, under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us ; but when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and ho-

noured him very greatly, and kept him with him ; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.

5. However, while Daniel was in so great dignity, and in so great favour with Darius, and was alone intrusted with every thing by him, as having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest ; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings, envy them ; and when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an accusation against him, he afforded them no occasion at all, for as he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him, he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king ; nothing that was shameful or reproachful, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. When therefore, they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him ; so they came to Darius, and told him, that “ the princes and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either to himself, or to the gods, but that he who shall transgress this decree, shall be cast into the den of lions, and there perish.”

6. Whereupon, the king, being not acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said, he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired ; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly, all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested in quiet ; but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all : but the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, came presently to the king, and accused him, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree, while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy ; for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to grant him pardon for this contempt of his injunc-

tions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become more favourable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions, according to the law. So Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, bid him bear this accident cheerfully : and when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way, but he passed all the night without food, and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel ; but when it was day, he got up, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal : he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him, if he were alive ? And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said, that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his providence : but they said that the lions had been filled full with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him ; and this they alleged to the king : but the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order, that they should throw a great deal of flesh to the lions ; and when they had filled themselves, he gave farther order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel, * for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose therefore, it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men that provoked them [to destroy the princes,] for if it so please God, that wickedness might, by even those irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.

7. When, therefore, those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery, were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent [letters] over all the country, and praised that God whom

* It is no way improbable that Daniel's enemies might suggest this reason to the king, why the lions did not meddle with him, and that they might suspect the king's kindness to Daniel had procured these lions to be so filled beforehand, that thence it was that he encouraged Daniel to submit to this experiment, in hopes of coming off safe ; and that this was the true reason of making so terrible an experiment upon those his enemies, and all their families, Dan. vi. 24, though our other copies do not directly take notice of it.

Daniel worshipped ; and said, that “ he was the only true God, and had all power.” He had also Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana, in Media : it was a most elegant building, and wonderfully made, and it is still remaining, and preserved to this day ; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to have been no older than that very day, when any one looks upon it, it is * so fresh, flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time, for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, of Persia, and Parthia, in this tower, to this day ; and he who was intrusted with the care of it, was a Jewish priest ; which thing is also observed to this day : but it is fit to give an account of what this man did, which is most admirable to hear ; for he was so happy as to have strange relations made to him, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive, he had the esteem and applause both of the kings and of the multitude, and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time ; and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God ; for he did not only prophesy of future events as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment : and while prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and on that account were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, and this to such a degree, that by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he procured the good will of all men, and by the accomplishment of them, he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of [a sort of] divinity for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions : for he saith, that “ when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went out into

* What Josephus here says, that the stones of the sepulchres of the kings of Persia at this tower, or those perhaps of the same sort that are now commonly called the ruins of Persepolis, continued so entire and unaltered in his days, as if they were lately put there, “ I, says Reland, here can show to be true, as to those stones of the Persian king’s mausoleum which Cornelius Brunius brake off and gave me.” He ascribed this to the hardness of the stones, which scarcely yields to iron tools, and proves frequently too hard for cutting by the chisel, but oftentimes breaks into pieces.

the field with his companions, there was, on the sudden, a motion and concussion of the earth, and that he was left alone by himself, his friends flying away from him, and that he was disturbed, and fell on his face, and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and, at the same time, bid him rise, and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related, that when he stood up, he was shown a great ram, with many horns growing out of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest: that after this, he looked to the west, and saw an he-goat carried through the air from that quarter; that he rushed upon the ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him: that afterward he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and that when it was broken off, four horns grew up that were exposed to each of the four winds, and he wrote, that out of them arose another lesser horn, which, as he said, waxed great; and that God showed to him, that it should fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple-worship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered, for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days." Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa; and he hath informed us, that God interpreted the appearance of this vision after the following manner: "He said that the ram signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns, those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory: that the he-goat, signified, that one should come, and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persians, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion: that by the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome our nation, and their laws, and should take away their political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered, for three years' time." And indeed it so came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to

pass. In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch, that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say, that the world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler and a curator; which, were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see drowned by the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned, so would the world be dashed to pieces by its being carried without a providence, and so perish and come to nought. So that by the fore-mentioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who determine, that God exercises no providence over human affairs; for if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

BOOK XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 253 YEARS 5 MONTHS.

[From the first of Cyrus to the death of Alexander the Great.]

CHAP. I.

How Cyrus, king of the Persians, delivered the Jews out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own country, and to build their temple, for which work he gave them money.

§ 1. IN the first year of the reign of * Cyrus, which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city, that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them; for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write thus throughout all Asia: "Thus saith Cyrus the king, since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that He is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship, for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him an house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said, that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine

* This Cyrus is called *God's shepherd* by Xenophon, as well as by Isaiah, xlv. 28, as also it is said of him by the same prophet, that *I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir*, Isa. xiii. 12, which character makes Xenophon's most excellent history of him very credible.

power, an earnest desire and an ambition seized upon him to fulfil what was so written ; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that “ he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild * their city Jerusalem, and the temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighbourhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices.”

3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites, and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem, yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions ; and when they were come thither, all the king’s friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold, and some silver, and some a great many cattle, and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time ; I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to be sent away, with an order to give them to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built ; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow :

“ King CYRUS to SISINNES, and SATHRABUZANES sendeth greeting :

“ I have given leave to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please to return to their own country, and to

* This leave to build Jerusalem, § 2, 3, and this epistle of Cyrus to Sisinnus and Sathrabuzanes, to the same purpose, are most unfortunately omitted in all our copies, but this best and completest copy of Josephus’s ; and by such omission the famous prophecy of Isaiah, xliv. 28, where we are informed, that God said of, or to Cyrus, *He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure ; even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built, and to the temple, thy foundations shall be laid*, could not hitherto be demonstrated from the sacred history, to have been completely fulfilled, I mean as to that part of it which concerned his giving leave, or commission, for rebuilding the city Jerusalem, as distinct from the temple, whose rebuilding is alone permitted or directed in the decree of Cyrus in all our copies.

rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country; and the same order extends to the altar whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I require also that the sacrifices for these things be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithridates the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they might have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their * number is as follows; fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty Thericlean cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basins of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring [the drink offerings,] and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine, and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmae; and for wheat flour, twenty thousand and five hundred artabae: and I give order, that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem; and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king, and of his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty two.

CHAP. II.

How, upon the death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in building of the temple by the Cutheans, and the neighbouring governors; and how Cambyses entirely forbade the Jews to do any such thing.

§ 1. WHEN the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were zealous about building it, the neighbour-

* Of the true number of golden and silver vessels here and elsewhere belonging to the temple of Solomon, see the description of the Temples, chap. xiii.

ing nations, and especially the Cutheans, whom Shalmanezar, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captive, besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city; and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they told the Cutheans their interest for rendering their building a slow and careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and so it happened, that when he had led his army against the Massagetæ,* he ended his life. But when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governor in Syria and Phœnicia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyses, whose contents were as follows: "To our lord Cambyses; we thy servants, Rathumus, the historiographer, and Semellius, the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phœnicia, send greeting: it is fit, O king, that thou shouldest know, that those Jews which were carried to Babylon, are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple: know, therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others, than be ruled over themselves. We, therefore, thought proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy father, for thou wilt find in them, that the Jews have been rebels and enemies to kings, as hath their city been also, which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayest other-

* Josephus here follows Herodotus, and those that related how Cyrus made war with the Scythians and Massagets, near the Caspian sea, and perished in it; while Xenophon's account, which appears never to have been seen by Josephus, that Cyrus died in peace, in his own country of Persia, is attested to by the writers of the affairs of Alexander the Great, when they agree that he found Cyrus's sepulchre at Pasargadae, near Persepolis. This account of Xenophon's is also confirmed by the circumstances of Cambyses, upon his succession to Cyrus, who, instead of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and Massagets, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his northern provinces, which would have been the natural consequence of his father's ill success and death there, went immediately to an Egyptian war, long ago began by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, p. 644, and conquered that kingdom: nor is there, that I ever heard of, the least mention in the reign of Cambyses of any war against the Scythians and Massagets that he was ever engaged in all his life.

wise, perhaps, be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited, and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from thy passage to Coelosyria and Phœnicia."

2. When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him, and wrote back to them as follows : " Cambyses the king, to Rathumus the historiographer, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria and Phœnicia, after this manner : I have read the epistle that was sent from you ; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it is there found, that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditions, and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been powerful, and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia : wherefore I give order that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented." When this epistle was read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem ; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more ; for Cambyses reigned six years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

CHAP. III.

How, after the death of Cambyses, and the slaughter of the Magi, but under the reign of Darius, Zorobabel was superior to the rest in the solution of problems, and thereby obtained this favour of the king, that the temple should be built.

§ 1. AFTER the slaughter of the Magi, who upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families which were called the seven families of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon, to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem, for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was

also, with two others, thought worthy to be guards of the king's body, and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

2. Now in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces: but when they had eaten and drank to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius the king went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awaked, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised, that to him who should make an oration, about points that he should inquire of, such as would be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and an head-tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom: and, says he, he shall be called my cousin. Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, Whether wine was not the strongest? The second, Whether kings were not such? And the third, Whether women were not such? Or whether truth was not rather the strongest of all? Whehe had proposed that they should make the inquiries about these problems, he went to rest; but in the morning sent for his great men, his princes, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bid each of the guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

3. Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine: and demonstrated it thus: "when, said he, I am to give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find that it exceeds every thing, by the following indications: it deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan, and he who stands in need of a tutor, and erects that of the slave to the boldness of him that is free, and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man, for it changes and renews the souls of men, when it gets into them, and it quenches the sorrows of those that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things,

but of talents, and such other names as become wealthy men only : nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions, for it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them ; and when they are become sober, and they have slept out of their wine in the night, they arise without knowing any thing they have done in their cups. I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that wine is the most insuperable of all things.”

4. As soon as the first had given the fore-mentioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off ; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king ; and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his demonstration after the following manner ; and said, “ They are men who govern all things ; they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to them in what they desire and over these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority. Now those who rule over that animal which is of all the strongest, and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force ; for example, when these kings command their subjects to make wars, and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to, and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and pull down walls and towers ; nay, when they are commanded to be killed, and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king’s commands ; and when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground, and plough it, and when, after they have endured the labour, and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, they have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tributes to the king. And whatsoever it is which the king says, or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any delay, while he, in the mean time, is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by such as watch, and such as are, as it were, fixed down to the place through fear, for no one dares leave him, even when he is asleep, nor does any one go away and take care of his own affairs, but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, to guard the king, and accordingly, to this he wholly addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it must appear the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obeys his injunctions ?”

5. Now, when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: "Wine is strong, as is the king also, whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in power, for it was a woman that brought the king into the world; and for those that plant the vines, and make the wine, they are women who bear them, and bring them up: nor indeed is there any thing which we do not receive from them; for these women weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by their means taken care of, and preserved in safety; nor can we live separate from women. And when we have gotten a great deal of gold, and silver, and any other thing that is of great value, and deserving regard, and see a beautiful woman, we leave all these things, and with open mouth, fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty and procure it to ourselves. We also leave father and mother, and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends for the sake of women; nay, we are so hardy as to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly make you take notice of the strength of women, is this that follows: do not we take pains, and endure a great deal of trouble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have procured somewhat, as the fruit of our labours, do not we bring them to the women, as to our mistresses, and bestow them upon them? nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by Apame, the daughter of Rabases Thamasius, his concubine, and his diadem taken away from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently; and when she smiled, he smiled, and when she was angry, he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he flattered his wife, and drew her to reconciliation, by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at any time he saw her displeased at him."

6. And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, he began to speak about truth; and he said, "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are; but, both these women themselves, and the king himself, are weaker than truth; for although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we ought, also, to esteem truth to be the strongest of all things, and that what is unrighteous is of no force against it. Moreover, all things else that have any strength are mortal, and short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal and eternal. It affords us not, indeed, such a beau-

ty as will wither away by time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules and laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke.*”

7. So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud, that he had spoken the most wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength, and such as never would wax old, the king commanded that he should ask for somewhat over and above what he had promised, for that he would give him, because of his wisdom, and that prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; and thou shalt sit with me, said the king, and shalt be called my cousin. When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made, in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, “To rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God; as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged, and carried to Babylon.” And this, said he, is that request which thou now permittest me to make, on account that I have been judged to be wise, and understanding.

8. So the king was pleased with what he had said, and arose and kissed him: and wrote to the toparchs, and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phœnicia, to cut down and carry cedar-trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that

* The reader is to note, that although the speeches or papers of these three of the king's guard, are much the same, in our third book of Esdras, chap. iii. and iv. as they are here in Josephus, yet that the introduction to them is entirely different, while in our Esdras, the whole is related as a contrivance of the three of the king's guard themselves: and even the mighty rewards are spoken of as proposed of themselves, and the speeches are related to have been delivered by themselves to the king in writing, while all is contrary in Josephus. I need not say whose account is the most probable, the matters speak for themselves; and there can be no doubt but Josephus's history is here to be very much preferred before the other. Nor, indeed, does it seem to me at all unlikely, that the whole was a contrivance of king Darius's own, in order to be decently and inoffensively put in mind by Zorobabel, of fulfilling his old vow for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the temple, and the restoration of the worship of the ONE TRUE GOD there. Nor does the full meaning of Zorobabel, when he cries out, 3 Esd. iv. 40, *Blessed be the God of truth*; and here, *God is true and righteous*, or even of all the people, 3 Esd. iv. 41, *Great is Truth and mighty above all things*, seem to me much different from this, *There is but ONE TRUE GOD*, the God of Israel. To which Doctrine, such as Cyrus, and Darius, &c. the Jews' great patrons, seem not to have been very averse, though the entire idolatry of their kingdoms made them generally conceal it.

all the captives who should go to Judea should be free ; and he prohibited his deputies and governors to lay any king's taxes upon the Jews : he also permitted that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tributes. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Cœlosyria, to restore villages which they had taken from the Jews : and that, besides all this, fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high-priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges ; and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them, that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city, and the temple, as also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance : and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.

9. Now when Zorobâbel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and, looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself ; "for," said he, "I had not been thought worthy of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favourable to me." When, therefore, he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him to afford him the like favour for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his countrymen of what grants he had procured for them from the king ; who, when they heard the same, gave thanks also to God that he restored the land of their forefathers to them again ; so they betook themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival, for the rebuilding and restoration of their country : after this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives, and children, and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with joy, and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

10. And thus did these men go to a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper

to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narrations ; but the sum of those that went up, about the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four* hundred sixty-two myriads and eight thousand ; the Levites were seventy-four ; the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two ; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten, and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two : there were also others besides these, who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two : some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honour of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests : they were about five hundred and twenty-five : the multitude also of servants followed those that went up to Jerusalem seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven ; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five : the camels were four hundred and thirty-five ; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five : and the governors of all this multitude, thus numbered, was Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high-priest ; and besides these, there were Modecai and Serebus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers ; who also contributed an hundred pounds of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means, therefore, the priests and the Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem,

* This strange reading in Josephus's present copies of 4,000,000 instead of 40,000, is one of the grossest errors that is in them, and ought to be corrected from Ezra ii. 64. 1 Esd. v. 40 and Neh. vii. 66, who all agree the general sum was but about 42,360. It is also very plain, that Josephus thought, that when Esdras afterward brought up another company out of Babylon and Persia, in the days of Xerxes, they were also, as well as these, out of the two tribes, and out of them only, and were in all no more than a *seed*, and a *remnant*, while an *immense number* of the ten tribes never returned, but, as he believed, continued then beyond Euphrates, chap. v. § 2, 3. Of which multitude the Jews beyond Euphrates he speaks frequently elsewhere, though, by the way, he never takes them to be idolaters, but looks on them still as observers of the laws of Moses. The *certain part* of the people that now came up from Babylon, at the end of this chapter, imply the same small number of Jews that now came up, and will no way agree with the 4,000,000.

but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

CHAP. IV.

How the temple was built while the Cutheans endeavoured in vain to obstruct the work.

§ 1. Now in the seventh month after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high-priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers every way round about; and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem universally, who came very gladly thither. He then built the altar on the same place it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bear an ill will to them. They also celebrated the feast of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it; and after they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows, performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons, and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar-trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make an united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace: and when they had laid its foundations, on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set, as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old; and Jeshua and his sons, and brethren, and Cadmiel, the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets, while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sang hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priests and Levites,

and the elder part of the families, recollecting with themselves how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made, how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. Hereupon they were disconsolate, and not able to contain their grief, and proceeded so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts; but the people in general were contented with their present condition, and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded, nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations; but the wailing of the old men, and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sound of the trumpets, and the rejoicing of the people.

3. But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the occasion of this tumult; and when they perceived that it was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they came to Zorobabel, and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship their God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of their religious settlement, and this ever since Shalmanezzer, the king of Assyria, transplanted us out of Cuthan and Media, to this place." When they said thus, Zorobabel, and Jeshua the high-priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that "it was impossible for them to permit them to be their partners, whilst they [only] had been appointed to build that temple at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, although it was indeed lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, and that they could allow them nothing but that in common with them, which was common to them with all other men, to come to their temple, and worship God there."

4. When the Cutheans heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavour to delay and pro-

tract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time, Sisinnus, the governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, "By whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple? and for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city?" To which Zorobabel, and Jeshua the high-priest, replied, "That they were the servants of God almighty: that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs, that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded all men in virtue, and that it continued a long time, but that because of their fathers' impiety towards God, Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylon: that Cyrus, who, after him, was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts, and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel, and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple when it was built; for he had sent to them to have that done speedily, and commanded Sannabassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations: and although it hath been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If, therefore, you have a mind, and think it proper, write this account to Darius, that when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter."

5. When Zorobabel and the high-priest had made this answer, Sisinnus, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions, as to the building of Jerusalem, and of the temple, there were two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bid them be of good cheer, and to suspect no discouragement from the Persians, for that God foretold this to them. So, in dependence on these prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the city, and built the temple more like to a citadel than to a temple ; and said that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs ; and besides, they showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple : and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had read the epistle that was brought him from Sisinnes, and those that were with him, he gave orders that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. Whereupon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows : " Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, commanded that the temple should be built in Jerusalem ; and the altar, in height threescore cubits, and its breadth of the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country ; and he ordained that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded, that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged [out of the temple,] and had carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem ; and that the care of these things should belong to Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phoenicia, and to his associates, that they may not meddle with that place, but may permit the servants of God, the Jews, and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist them in the work ; and that they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls, and rams, and lambs, and kids of the goats, and fine flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priest should suggest to them ; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians ; and that for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be caught, and hung upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness.

7. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisinnes, and his associates, whose contents were these : " King Darius to Sisinnes the governor, and to Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting : having found a copy of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it to you ; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare ye well." So when Sisinnes, and

those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the sanhedrim, and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius the kings. Now the temple was built in seven years' time: and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called *Adar*, but by the Macedonians *Dystrus*, the priests and Levites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their former posterity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt, an hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites,) and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also, and the Levites, set the porters at every gate, according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple that were round about the temple itself.

8. And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which, according to the Macedonians, is called *Xanthicus*, but according to us, *Nisan*, all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the *Passover*, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered the whole burnt offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high-priests were at the head of their affairs, until the posterity of the Asmoneans set up kingly government; for before their captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingly government from Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; but before these kings, such rulers governed them as were called *Judges* and *Monarchs*. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred

years, after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their commander. And this is the account I have to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

9. * But the Samaritans, being evil and enviously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretence that they were allied to the Persians, on account that thence they came; and whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay the Jews, by the king's order, out of their tributes, for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favourable to them, and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves, or by others, as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassy to king Darius, in favour of the people of Jerusalem, and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four other of the rulers: and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria. The contents of which epistle were these: "King Darius to Tanganas, and Sambabas, the governors of the Samaritans, to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow-servants that are in Samaria: Zorobabel, Annanias, and Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do for the offering their sacrifices. My will, therefore, is this, that upon the reading of this epistle, you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treasury of the tributes of Samaria, as the priests shall desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." And these were the contents of that epistle.

CHAP. V.

How Xerxes, the son of Darius, was well disposed to the Jews: as also concerning Esdras and Nehemiah.

§ 1. UPON the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honour of him; for he did all things suitably to his father relating to divine worship,

* The history contained in this section is entirely wanting in all our copies both of Ezra and Esdras.

and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews. Now about this time, a son of Jeshua, whose name was *Joachim*, was the high-priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude: he was the principal priest of the people, and his name was *Esdras*. He was very skilful in the laws of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon; and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governars of Syria, by which they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following epistle to those governors: "Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, and reader of the divine law, greeting: I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind go, according as it hath seemed good to me, and to my seven counsellors, and this in order to their review of the affairs of Judea, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians, as dedicated to God, and let all this be carried to Jerusalem to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take the expenses out of the king's treasury. I have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria and Phœnicia, that they take care of those affairs that Esdras the priest and reader of the laws of God is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as an hundred cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition, or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according to the wisdom [given thee] of God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phœnicia; and do thou instruct those also which are ignorant of it, that if any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises

and contemns it ; and such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

2. When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed, that He had been the cause of the king's great favour to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there, but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased ; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem : but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country, wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe, subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants, to Esdras. So he gathered those that were in the captivity together beyond Euphrates, and stayed there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make their prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way, either from their enemies, or from any other ill accident ; for Esdras had said beforehand, that he had told the king, how God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their prayers, they removed from Euphrates, on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money of the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, of silver six hundred and fifty talents, vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold twenty talents, vessels of brass, that was * more precious than gold, twelve talents by weight ; for these presents had been made by the king, and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls, on account of the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, and seventy-two lambs, twelve kids of the goats, for the remission of sins.

* Dr. Hudson takes notice here, that this kind of brass or copper, or rather mixture of gold and brass or copper, was called *aurichalcum*, and that this was of old esteemed the most precious of all metals.

He also delivered the king's epistle to the king's officers, and to the governors of Coelosyria and Phœnicia; and as they were under a necessity of doing what was enjoined by him, they honoured our nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

3. Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Esdras, and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his goodness and righteousness: but some time afterward, there came some persons to him, and brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the priests, and Levites, who had transgressed their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately out of grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people; and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkened to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, who also themselves wept, and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands toward heaven, and said, that "he was ashamed to look towards it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone, on account of their wickedness: and he besought God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem, and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also forgive them their sins they had now committed, which, though they deserved death, yet was it agreeable to the mercy of God to remit even to these the punishment due to them."

4. After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were under lamentation, one whose name was *Jechonius*, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him and said, that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he persuaded him to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and

made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear, that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, so he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and that those that did not meet there in two or three days, should be banished from the multitude, and that their substance should be appropriated to the uses of the temple according to the sentence of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, viz. on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which according to the Hebrews, is called *Tebeth*, and according to the Macedonians, *Apelleus*. Now as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, but were uneasy because of the cold, Esdras stood up, and accused them, and told them they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; but that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, if they would put those wives away. Accordingly, they all cried out, that "they would do so." That however the multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this work would require more than one or two days. Let their rulers, therefore, [said they,] and those that have married strange wives, come hither at a proper time, while the elders of every place, that are in common to estimate the number of those that have thus married, are to be there also." Accordingly, this was resolved on by them; and they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high-priest, and of the priests, and Levites, and Israelites, who had * a great regard to the observation of the

* This procedure of Ezra, and of the best part of the Jewish nation, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, of reducing the Jewish marriages, once for all, to the strictness of the law of Moses, without any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without regard to that natural affection or compassion for their heathen wives, and their children by them, which made it so hard for Ezra to correct it, deserves greatly to be observed and imitated in all attempts for reformation among Christians, the contrary conduct having been the bane of true religion, both among Jews and Christians, while political views, or human passions, or prudential motives, are suffered to take place instead of the divine laws, and so the blessing of God is forfeited, and the

law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them. And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as oblations to him; but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin, about the marriages of the fore-mentioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

5. Now, when they kept * the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month, and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present, and for the future; but as for their past offences, they were displeas'd at themselves, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves, that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of those miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home, and not weep, for that it was a festival, and that they ought not to weep, thereon, for that it was † not lawful so to do. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and what was agreeable to a day of joy, but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins, be a security and a guard to them, that they fell no more into the like offences. So upon Esdras's exhortation, they began to feast; and when they had so done for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras, for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time, it happened also, that Joachim, the high-priest, died; and his son Eliasib succeeded him in the high-priesthood.

church still suffered to continue corrupt from one generation to another. See. chap. viii. § 2.

* This Jewish feast of tabernacles was imitated in several heathen solemnities, as Spanheim here observes and proves. He also farther observes presently, what great regard many heathens had to the monuments of their forefathers, as Nehemiah had here, § 6.

† This rule of Ezra's, not to fast on a festival day, is quoted in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. v. as obtaining among Christians also.

6. Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive, who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes ; his name was *Nehemiah*. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers, that were entering the city after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue, so he went to them, and asked them whence they came ? and when their answer was that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was ; and in what condition Jerusalem was ? and when they replied, that they were in a* bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, while in the day-time they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day-time found full of dead men. Hereupon, *Nehemiah* shed tears, out of commiseration of the calamities of his countrymen : and looking up to heaven, he said, “ How long, O Lord, wilt thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and the spoil of all men ? ” And while he stayed at the gate, and lamented thus, one told him, that the king was going to sit down to supper ; so he made haste, and went as he was, without washing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer : but as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on *Nehemiah*, and seeing him look sad, he asked him why he was sad ? whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and afford him the power of persuading by his words ; and said, “ How can I, O king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchres of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire ; but do thou grant me the favour to go and build its walls, and to finish the building of the temple.” Accordingly, the king gave him a signal, that he freely granted him what he asked ; and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. “ Leave off thy

* This miserable condition of the Jews, and their capital, must have been after the death of *Ezra*, their former governor, and before *Nehemiah* came with his commission to build the walls of Jerusalem : nor is that at all disagreeable to these histories of *Josephus*, since *Ezra* came on the 7th, and *Nehemiah* not till the 25th of Xerxes, at the interval of 18 years.

sorrow then, said the king, and be cheerful in the performance of thy office hereafter." So Nehemiah worshipped God; and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king's promises. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

7. Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem, in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes: and when he had shown the * epistles to God, he gave them to Adeus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them: "You know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually; and, for the sake of their righteousness, hath not left off the care of you: indeed he hath assisted me in gaining this authority of the king; to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, therefore, who well know the ill will our neighbouring nations bear to us, and that when once they are made sensible that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work, now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one's ability should require. And when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work: that is the name they are called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places, and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

8. But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Sa-

* This showing king Xerxes's epistles to God, or laying them open before God in the temple, is very like the laying open the epistles of Sennacherib before him also by Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 14. Isa. xxxvii. 14, although this last was for a memorial, to put him in mind of the enemies, in order to move that divine compassion, and the present as a token of gratitude for mercies already received, as Havercamp well observes on this place.

maritans, and all that inhabited Coelosyria, heard that the building went on apace, they took it heinously, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumours, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and had almost left off the building; but none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work; he only set a number of men about him as a guard to his body, and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively, and with great forecast, take care of his own safety, not that he feared death, but out of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders, that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpeters at every five hundred feet, and charged them, that if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. And this trouble he underwent for * two years and four months; for in so long a time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and they continued in feasting eight days. However, when the nations that dwelt

* It may not be very improper to remark here, with what an unusual accuracy Josephus determines these years of Xerxes, in which the walls of Jerusalem were built, viz. that Nehemiah came with his commission in the 25th of Xerxes; that the walls were two years four months in building; and that they were finished on the 28th of Xerxes, § 7, 8. It may also be remarked farther, that Josephus hardly ever mentions more than one infallible astronomical character, I mean the eclipse of the moon, and this a little before the death of Herod the Great, *Antiq. B. xvii. ch. v. § 4. vol. iv.* Now on these two chronological characters, in great measure depend some of the most important points belonging to Christianity, viz. the explication of Daniel's 70 weeks, and the duration of our Saviour's ministry, and the time of his death, in correspondence to these 70 weeks. See the Supplement to the *Lit. Accomp. of Proph. p. 72.*

in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it: but when Nehemiah saw that the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests, and the Levites, that they would leave the country, and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses: and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land, to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, and might not leave the divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation, in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died: He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy: and he hath left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Esther, and Mordecai, and Haman: and how, in the reign of Artaxerxes, the whole nation of the Jews was in danger of perishing.

§ 1. AFTER the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called *Artaxerxes*. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, the whole * nation of the Jews with their wives

* Since some sceptical persons are willing to discard this book of Esther, as no true history; and even our learned and judicious Dr. Wall, in his late posthumous critical notes upon all the other Hebrew books of the Old Testament, gives us none upon the Canticles, or upon Esther, and seems thereby to give up this book, as well as he gives up the Canticles, as indefensible: I shall venture to say, that almost all the objections against this book of Esther are gone at once, if, as we certainly ought to do, and as Dean Prideaux has justly done, we place this history under Artaxerxes Longimanus, as do both the Septuagint interpreters and Josephus. The learned Dr. Lee, in his posthumous dissertation on the second book of Esdras, p. 25, also says, that "the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day: and this surprising providential revolution in favour of a captive people, thereby constantly commemorated, standeth even upon a firmer basis than that there ever was such a man as King Alexander [the Great] in the world, of whose reign there is no such abiding monument at this day to be found any where. Nor will they, I dare say, who quarrel at this, or any other of the sacred histories, find it a very easy matter to reconcile the different accounts which were given by historians

and children, were in danger of perishing; the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time, for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such an one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and thus for a hundred and fourscore days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors, at Shushan, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following: he caused a tent to be pitched which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousands to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for sight. He also gave order to the servants, that they should not force them to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit every one of the guests to enjoy themselves according to his own inclination. Moreover, he sent messengers through the country, and gave order, that they should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner, did Vashti, the queen, gather her guests together, and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him, and sent some to command her to come to his feast. But she, out of a regard to the laws of the Persians, which * forbid the wives to be seen

of the affairs of this king, or to confirm any one fact of his whatever with the same evidence which is here given for the principal fact in the sacred book, or even so much as to prove the existence of such a person, of whom so great things are related, but upon granting this book of Esther, or sixth of Esdras, (as it is placed in some of the most ancient copies of the Vulgate,) to be a most true and certain history," &c.

* If the Chaldee paraphrast be in the right, that Artaxerxes intended to show Vashti to his guests naked, it is no wonder at all that she would not submit to such an indignity; but still if it were not so gross as that, yet it might, in the king's cups, be done in a way so indecent, as the Persian laws would not then bear no more than the common laws of modesty. And that the king had some such design, seems not improbable, for otherwise the principal of these royal guests could be no strangers to the queen, nor unapprised of her beauty, so far as decency admitted. However, since providence was now paving the way for the introduc-

by strangers, did not go to the king; and though he oftentimes sent the eunuchs to her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come. till the king was so much irritated, that he brake up the entertainment, and rose up, and called for those seven who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said that he had been affronted by her, because when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore gave order, that they should inform him what could be done by the law against her. So one of them, whose name was *Memucan*, said, that "this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading their lives very ill with their wives, if they must be thus despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they had such an example of arrogance in the queen towards thee, who rulest over all." Accordingly, he exhorted him to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put *Vashti* away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

2. But the king, having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation, so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should best like for his wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another, and the kindness he had for *Vashti* would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly, he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave order to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in *Babylon*, both whose parents were dead, and she was brought up with her uncle *Mordecai*, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was *Esther*, was the

tion of a Jewess into the king's affections, in order to bring about one of the most wonderful deliverances which the Jewish or any nation ever had, we need not be farther solicitous about the motives by which the king was induced to divorce *Vashti*, and marry *Esther*.

most beautiful of all the rest, and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her : so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take the care of her ; and she was very exactly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal ; and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the fore-mentioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king every day. So when he had accompanied with her, he sent her back to the eunuch ; and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called *Adar*. He also sent *angari*, as they are called, or messengers, unto every nation, and gave orders, that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes ; and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly, Esther came to his royal palace and he set a diadem on her head : and thus was Esther married, without making known to the king what nation she was derived from. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter

3. Now the king had made * a law, that none of his own people should approach him unless he were called, when he sat upon his throne ; and men, with axes in their hands, stood round about his throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However, the king sat with a golden sceptre in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any one of those that approached to him without being called ; and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter we have discoursed sufficiently.

4. Some time after this, [two eunuchs,] Bigthan and Teresh, plotted against the king : and Barnazabus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen's uncle ;

* Herodotus says, that this law [against any one's coming uncalled to the kings of Persia, when they were sitting on their thrones] was first enacted by Deioces, *i. e.* by him who first withdrew the Medes from the dominion of the Assyrians, and himself first reigned over them. Thus also, says Spanheim, stood guards, with their axes, about the throne of Tenus, or Tenuus, that the offender might by them be punished immediately.

and Mordecai, by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king, but he discovered the truth, and hanged the eunuchs upon cross, a while at that time he gave no reward to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bid the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bid him stay in the palace as an intimate friend of the king's.

5. Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshipped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honour should be paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his own country's laws, that he would not* worship the man. When Haman observed this, he inquired whence he came? and when he understood that he was a Jew, he had indignation at him, and said within himself, that "whereas the Persians, who were free men, worshipped him, this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to do so." And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was, had been destroyed by them. Accordingly, he came to the king and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, and it is dispersed over all the habitable earth that was under his dominion; a nation separate from others, unsociable, neither admitting the same sort of divine worship that others do, nor using laws like to the laws of others; at enmity with thy people, and with all men, both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give order to destroy them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them, either for slaves, or for captives." But that the king might not be damnified by the loss of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whensoever he pleased; and he said, he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

* Whether this adoration required of Mordecai to Haman were by him deemed too like the adoration due only to God, as Josephus seems here to think, as well as the Septuagint interpreters, also, by their translation of Esther, xiii. 12, 13, 14, or whether he thought he ought to pay no sort of adoration to an Amalekite, which nation had been such great sinners as to have been universally devoted to destruction by God himself, Exod. xvii. 14, 15, 16. 2 Sam. xv. 18, or whether both causes concurred, cannot now, I doubt, be entirely determined.

6. When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. So Haman, having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes the great king, to the rulers of the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia, sends this writing: whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominions of all the habitable earth, according to my desire, and have not been obliged to do any thing that is insolent or cruel to my subjects by such my power, but have showed myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come: and whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and only second to myself, for his fidelity, and constant good-will to me, and there is an ill natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse to our laws, and not subject to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that hateth monarchy, and of a disposition that is pernicious to our affairs. I give order that all these men, of whom Haman, our second father, hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none prefer pity to them before obedience to this decree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so, when all that have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities, and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolishment of the Jews, against the day before mentioned; and they were very hasty about it at Shushan in particular. Accordingly, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.

7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done he rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out, that "a nation that had been injurious to no man, was to be destroyed." And he went on saying thus, as far as to the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, with lamentations and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen, that Mordecai stood before the

court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report, and sent out such as should change his garments ; but when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased, she called the eunuch Acratheus, for he was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad accident had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off the habit he had on at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther ; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on an humble habit, for the safety of her nation, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it : for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king's, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him, that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called is to be slain, unless when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden sceptre to him ; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai, [to desire him] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast, and abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and to [let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same ; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it she would not refuse it.

8. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast ; and he besought God, together with them, " Not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed, but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven, when they had

sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them ; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, because, said he, I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay that honour to him, which I used to pay to thee, O Lord ; for upon that his anger, hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up ; and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth, from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days' time ; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing : as also that he would excite an hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction if they proved to be contemned by him.

9. When Esther had made this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, and changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lift up her large train (which swept along the ground,) with the extremities of her fingers ; and thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behaviour, yet did she go in to him with fear ; and as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon ; but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and he

leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was sad on account of her coming to him without being called, because that law was made for subjects, but that she, who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure; and as he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My Lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in a great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant to her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly, Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bid Esther to "let him know what she desired, for that she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom." But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again, together with Haman, to her banquet.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home, and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; yet, said he, I am not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court. Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order, that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman; and as he

knew what the event would be, he was delighted at it, for that night he took away the king's sleep : and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions ; and when he had brought them, and was reading them, one was found to have received a country on account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the country was set down ; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity : then the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, which Mordecai had discovered ; and when the scribe said no more but that, and was going on to another history, the king stopped him, and inquired, " Whether it was not added that Mordecai had a reward given him ? " and when he said there was no such addition, he bid him leave off, and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was ? and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends already come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death : and when the servants said that Haman was before the court, he bid them call him in ; and when he was come in, he said, " Because I know that thou art my only fast friend, I desire thee to give me advice, how I may honour one that I greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give it would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king ; so he gave that advice which he thought of all other the best : for he said, " If thou wouldst truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback, with the same garments on which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whosoever the king honoureth, obtaineth this mark of his honour." This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposal that such reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, " Go thou, therefore, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse, and proclaim accordingly ; for, said he, thou art my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice ; be thou then thre :

minister of what thou hast advised me to. This shall be his reward from us, for preserving my life." When he heard this order which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However, he went out, and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bid him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on : but Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind, dost thou thus laugh at our calamities." But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honour upon him, for the deliverance he had procured him when he convicted the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before, and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and esteems worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king ; but Haman went home, out of shame, and informed his wife and friends with what had happened, and this with tears ; who said that "he would never be able to be revenged on Mordecai, for that God was with him."

11. Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuch hastened Haman away to come to supper : but one of the eunuchs, named *Sabuchadas*, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants for what purpose they had prepared it ? So he knew that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished, but at present he held his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gift she desired to obtain, and assured her, that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in ; and said, that "she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she, on that account, made this her petition : that she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold in bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable ; but she desired that they might be delivered from such a destruction." And when the king inquired of her, who was the author of this misery to them ? she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them : When the king was hereupon in disorder,

and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he was fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication unto her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch, said he, thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou aim to force my wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sebuchadas the eunuch came in and accused Haman, and said, "He found a gallows at his house prepared for Mordecai, for that the servant told him so much, upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper." He said farther, "that the gallows was fifty cubits high:" which when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai: so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon those gallows, and be put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also because thereby he teaches others this lesson, that what mischiefs any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner; the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that she was a-kin to him,) and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman, the son of Amedatha; for that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her, that he would not do any thing that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she desired, but he bid her to write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations, on the Jews' behalf, and to his

lieutenants, and governors, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these ; “ * The great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting : many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from among men : and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, and persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies : nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only, but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman, the son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite, an alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was so hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men to so great a degree as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all the second rank after a royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with

* The true reason why Artaxerxes did not here properly revoke his former barbarous decree for the universal slaughter of the Jews, but only empowered and encouraged the Jews to fight for their lives, and to kill their enemies, if they attempted their destruction, seems to have been that old law of the Medes and Persians, not yet laid aside, that whatever decree was signed both by the king and his lords, *could not be changed*, but remained unalterable, Dan. vi. 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17. Esth. i. 19. viii. 3. And Haman having engrossed the royal favour, might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' slaughter instead of the ancient lords, and so might have rendered it by their rules irrevocable.

sound reason ; nay, he made a conspiracy against me, and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavouring to take away Mordecai my benefactor, and my saviour, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction, for he contrived by this means to * deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others : but since I perceived that these Jews, that were by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, to which if you refuse obedience, you shall do well, but I will that they have all honour paid them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them, that at the same season whereto their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar, for God hath made that day a day of salvation, instead of a day of destruction to them ; and may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us ! and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews, by all means, be ready against the day before

* These words give an intimation as if Artaxerxes suspected a deeper design in Haman than openly appeared, viz. that knowing the Jews would be faithful to him, and that he could never transfer the crown to his own family, who was an Agagite, Esth. iii. 1, 10, or of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 32, 33, while they were alive and spread over all his dominions, he therefore endeavoured to destroy them. Nor is it to me improbable, that those 75,800 of the Jews' enemies which were soon destroyed by the Jews, on the permission of the king, which must be on some great occasion, were Amalekites, their old and hereditary enemies, Exod. xvii. 14, 15, and that thereby was fulfilled Balaam's prophecy ; *Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be, that he perish for ever.* Numb. xxiv. 20.

mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

13. Accordingly, the horsemen who carried the epistles proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed : but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession ; and when the Jews, who were at Shushan, saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also, and joy, and a beam of salvation, encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch, that many even of other nations circumcised their foreskin, for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby ; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which, according to the Hebrews, is called *Adar*, but according to the Macedonians, *Dystrus*, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem, for the fear they were in of Mordecai, forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies : and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her, whether she would have any thing farther done against them ? for that it should be done accordingly : upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day ; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month *Dystrus*, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of what riches they had. Now there were slain by the Jews, that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day, and that which followed it ; whence it is, that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festival, and send portions to one

another. Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes, to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to their posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion; for since they were about to be destroyed in these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishment on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them; for which cause the Jews still keep the fore-mentioned days, and call them * days of *Phurim*, [or *Purim*.] And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews, under the reign of Artaxerxes†.

CHAP. VII.

How John slew his brother Jesus in the temple; and how Bagoes offered many injuries to the Jews; and what Sanballat did.

§ 1. WHEN Eliasib, the high-priest, was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high-priesthood: and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagoes, the general of † another Artaxerxes's

* Take here a part of Reland's note on this disputed passage: "In Josephus's copies, these Hebrew words, *days of Purim*, or *Lots*, as in the Greek copies of Esther, ix. 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, is read *days of phurim*, or *days of protection*, but ought to be read *days of purim*, as in the Hebrew; than which emendation, says he, nothing is more certain." And had we any assurance that Josephus's copy mentioned the *casting of lots*, as our other copies do, Est. iii. 7, I should fully agree with Reland, but as it now stands it seems to me by no means certain.

† As [to this whole book of Esther in the present Hebrew copy, it is so very imperfect, in a case where the providence of God was so very remarkable, and the Septuagint and Josephus have so much of religion, that it has not so much as the name of God once in it; and it is hard to say who made that epitome which the Masorites have given us for the genuine book itself; no religious Jews could well be the authors of it, whose education obliged them to have a constant regard to God, and whatsoever related to his worship; nor do we know that there ever was so imperfect a copy of it in the world till after the days of Barchocab, in the second century.

‡ Concerning this *other* Artaxerxes, called *Mnemon*, and the Persian affliction and captivity of the Jews under him, occasioned by the murder of the high-priests' brother in the holy house itself, see Authent. Rec. at large, p. 49. And if any wonder why Josephus wholly omits the

army polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised him to procure the high-priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus quarrelled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was an horrible thing for John when he was an high-priest, to perpetrate so great a crime, and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done, neither by the Greeks nor Barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account, enslaved, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now, when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high-priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus, in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slaying in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagoses made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

2. Now, when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high-priesthood. He had a brother whose name was *Manasseh*. Now there was one *Sanballat*, who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia] into Samaria. He was a Cuthean by birth, of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city of Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Coelosyria; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was *Nicaso*, in mar-

rest of the kings of Persia after Artaxerxes Mnemon, till he came to their last king Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great, I shall give them Vossius's and Dr. Hudson's answer, though in my own words, *viz.* that Josephus did not do ill in omitting those kings of Persia with whom the Jews had no concern, because he was giving the history of the Jews and not of the Persians: [which is a sufficient reason also why he entirely omits the history and the book of Job, as not particularly relating to that nation.] He justly, therefore, returns to the Jewish affairs after the death of Longimanus, without mention of Darius II. before Artaxerxes Mnemon, or of Ochus, or Arogus, as the canon of Ptolemy names them *after* him. Nor had he probably mentioned this *other* Artaxerxes, unless Bagoas, one of the governors and commanders under him, had occasioned the pollution of the Jewish temple, and had greatly distressed the Jews upon that pollution.

riage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security, that the nation of the Jews should continue their good will to him.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Sanballat, and Manasseh, and the temple which they built in mount Gerizzim; as also how Alexander made his entry into the city Jerusalem; and what benefits he bestowed on the Jews.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egæe by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Orestæe, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high-priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high-priesthood, quarrelled with him, for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high-priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon, Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that "although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family." But Sanballat promised not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of an high-priest, and make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him farther, that he would build him a temple like to that at Jerusalem, upon mount Gerizzim, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria, and he promised that

he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and stayed with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain an high-priesthood as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle at Granicum, and was proceeding farther; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain: and at Isus of Cilicia, he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle: upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh, that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded, that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected, for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife, and children, were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high-priest, "To send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing." But the high-priest answered the messengers, that "he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said, that he would not transgress them as long as Darius is in the land of the living." Upon hearing this answer, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high-priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good

deal of pains, during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city and him that was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

4. But Sanballat thought he had now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and, taking with him seven thousand of his own subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for his lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about his present affair. He told him, that "he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high-priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the same places subject to him: that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when the nation is of one mind and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria." Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do; who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward that his daughter's children should have that dignity: but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem: and Jaddua the high-priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplication, and should join with him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them: whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that "he should take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequence, which the providence of God would prevent." Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests, and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called *Sapha*. which name, translated into Greek, signifies a *prospect*, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem, and of the temple : and when the Phœnicians, and the Chaldeans that followed him, thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and to rent the high-priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened ; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high-priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high-priest. The Jews, also, did all together with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about : whereupon the kings of Syria, and the rest, were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him, "How it came to pass, that when all others adored him, he should adore the high-priest of the Jews?" To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with his high-priesthood ; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios, in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians ; whence it is, that having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind." And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high-priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city : and when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high-priest's direction ; and magnificently treated both the high-priest and the priests. And when the* book of Daniel was showed him, wherein

* The place showed Alexander might be Dan. vii. 6. 3—3, 20, 21, 22. xi. 3, some or all of them very plain predictions of Alexander's conquests and successors.

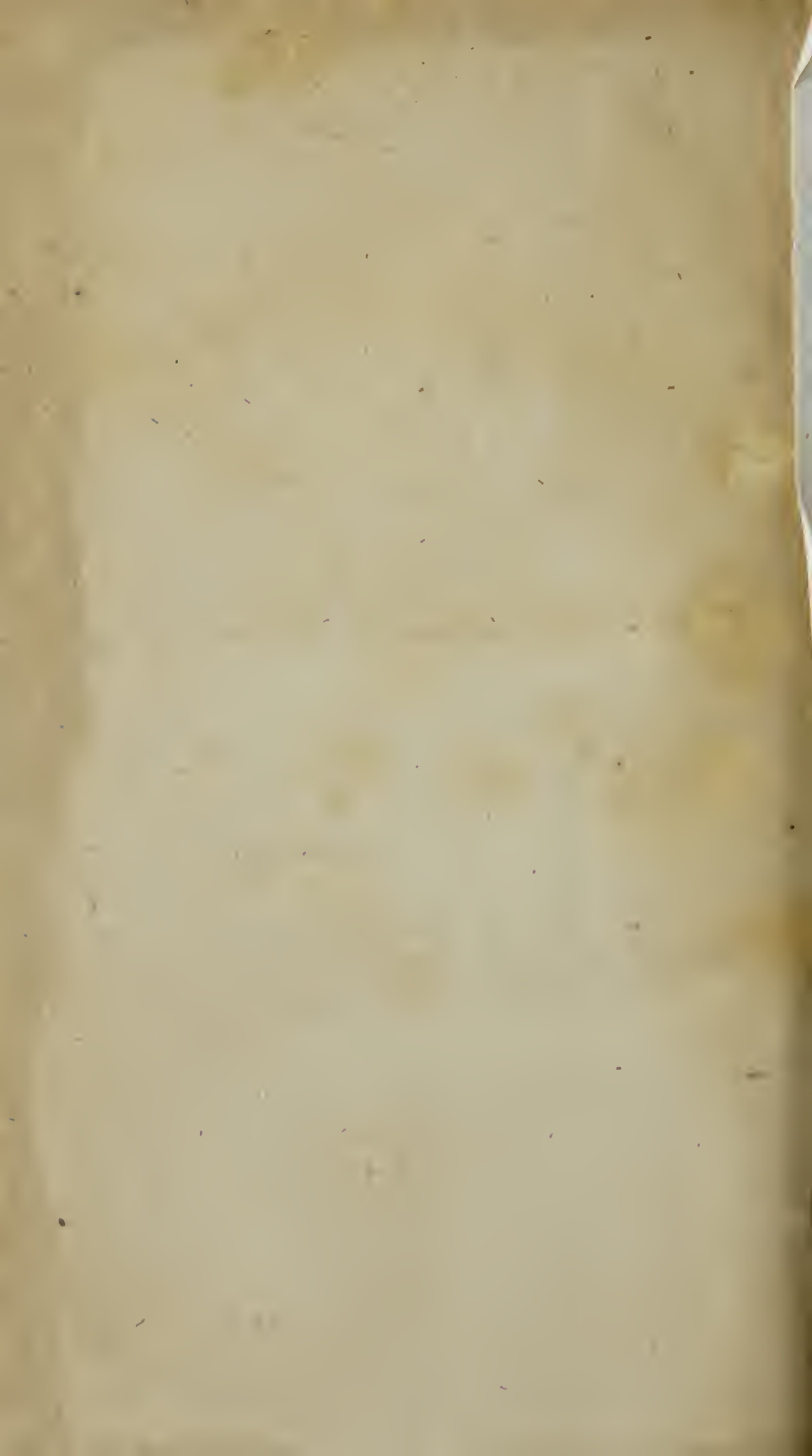
Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that he himself was the person intended: and as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him, and bid them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high-priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired. And when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would list themselves in his army, on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighbouring cities: and when all the inhabitants to whom he came, received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis, (a city situate at mount Gerizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,) seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews, for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity, they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying, that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendour; and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commended them, the Shechemites approached to him, taking with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also. To whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did not sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition, and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of *Sidonians*, living at Shechem; he asked them again whether they were Jews, and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews, said he, that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you

of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites; but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors, but the temple upon mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem, of having eaten things* common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddua, the high-priest, died; and Onias, his son, took the high-priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

* Here Josephus uses the very word *KOINOPHAGIA*, *eating things common*, for *eating things unclean*; as does our New Testament, Acts x. 14, 15, 28. xi. 8, 9, Rom. xiv. 14.



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